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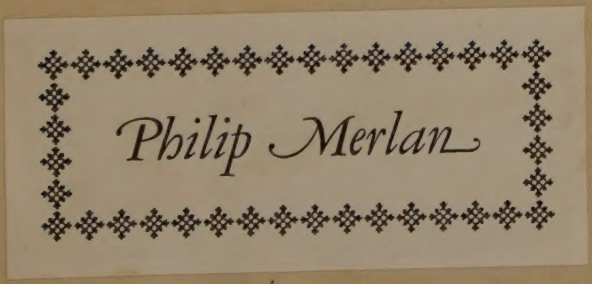
Philip Merlan

M. TVLLI CICERONIS

Cicero, Marcus Tullius

CATO MAIOR
DE SENECTVTE

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1909

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION
AND COMMENTARY

BY

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PREFACE

THIS edition of the *Cato Maior* is based on the standard text of C. F. W. Müller. All the critical material that has appeared since the publication of Müller's edition has been utilized, however, in order to help the student to a more satisfactory interpretation of Cicero's famous essay on Old Age. The variant readings are collected in a Critical Appendix at the end of the volume, where the textual criticism is to be found.

The edition has been provided with a rather full Introduction, in which much information is given as to the probable date of composition, the characters of the dialogue, the nature of the work, and its sources. It is hoped that this general information will quicken the interest of the student and enable him to acquire a better understanding of the *Cato Maior*.

The Commentary is believed to be sufficient to explain all the more difficult points. Despite the fact that the present edition is intended primarily for students, it has not been deemed wise to reduce the notes to a mere skeleton. However, they have been so arranged as to convey the desired information in the most convenient form. Translation — where translation was thought to be advisable — is regularly given first and the syntactical explanations follow. In the few cases where references to larger manuals seemed desirable, such references are added at the end of the note, so as to facilitate the labor of the student. This general plan has been adopted in the hope that the student may feel encouraged to read the notes by finding immediate assistance at the beginning.

In addition to the German annotated editions to which I am indebted, I have found the excellent editions of Ben-

nett and Moore especially helpful in the preparation of the present work.

It remains now to express my sincere thanks to Professor Gonzalez Lodge, of Teachers College, Columbia University, one of the editors of the series, for the valuable criticism and suggestion he has so cheerfully given me, as well as for the laborious service in proof-reading. I wish also to express to Mr. J. M. Burton, jun., and Mr. H. V. Bounds, two of my students, and to Dr. Herbert C. Lipscomb, of the Randolph-Macon Woman's College, my hearty appreciation of their assistance so generously given.

E. W. B.

ASHLAND, VA., June 1, 1909.

INTRODUCTION

1. DATE OF COMPOSITION OF THE CATO MAIOR

Cicero had two distinct periods of literary activity during which he produced most of his philosophical writings. The first period began about 56 B. C., after his return from exile, and continued till the year 51. To this period belong his *De Oratore* (written in the year 55), *De Re Publica* (54) and *De Legibus* (52). The second period began with 46 B. C., after his reconciliation with Cæsar, and to this period of Cicero's creative impulse are to be assigned his now lost *Hortensius* or *De Philosophia*, several oratorical treatises, such as his *Partitiones Oratoriæ*, the *Brutus* or *De Claris Oratoribus*, and his *Orator*. After the death of his beloved daughter Tullia, early in the year 45 B. C., Cicero spent the next twelve months in retirement, writing incessantly to console his grief, and produced in rapid succession his *De Consolatione*, *Academica*, *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, *Disputationes Tuscalanæ*, *De Natura Deorum*, *Cato Maior*, *Lælius*, *Paradoxa* and *De Officiis*, not to mention several treatises of a rhetorical nature. These philosophical works therefore were written mostly in 45 and 44 B. C. They are all preserved except the *De Consolatione*.

The exact date of the composition of the *Cato Maior* is regarded an open question. Until recently most editors assumed the spring of 44 B. C., shortly after Cæsar's assassination (Ides of March), to be the correct date. But the later editors generally reject this date and are disposed to think that the essay was composed shortly before Cæsar's death, possibly in January or February, 44, or perhaps in December, 45 B. C. This conclusion

seems to be more generally accepted by conservative scholars of the present day.

Arguments for the later date, i. e., after the death of Cæsar, are as follows: 1. The *De Divinatione* with the exception of the first book is known to have been written after the death of Cæsar, and in the opening chapter of the second book the *Cato Maior* is mentioned as having been recently written. 2. The *Cato Maior* is mentioned as a recent work in three letters addressed by Cicero to Atticus (*Ad Att.*, 14, 21, 3; 16, 3, 1; 16, 11, 3). Now the earliest of these letters (*Ad Att.*, 14, 21, 1) was written about 12 May, 44 B. C. 3. In the dedicatory introduction of the *Cato Maior* (§ 1) Cicero refers to troubles which weighed heavily upon him and Atticus, and it has been inferred that the troubles here alluded to were the apprehensions Cicero entertained in regard to the course of Antony, who might undertake to avenge Cæsar's murder and lay violent hands upon Cicero as privy to the assassination. Hence Cicero, it is argued, was careful to make only very vague allusions to the politics of the times. 4. The calm and serene tone that pervades the essay indicates Cicero's pleasure at the destruction of the tyrant who overthrew the Roman Republic and blotted out Roman liberty.

In reply to the foregoing arguments and in support of the early date (i. e., before the middle of March, 44 B. C.) of the *Cato Maior* the following points may be noted:

1. The statement about the *Cato Maior* in the introduction to the second book of the *De Divinatione* does not warrant the inference that the *Cato Maior* was written after the assassination of Cæsar, and such a conclusion is wholly gratuitous. The words *interiectus est nuper liber in quem ad nostrum Atticum de senectute misimus* (*De Div.*, 2, 3) certainly do not warrant the conclusion that the *Cato Maior* was composed after the death of Cæsar. On

the contrary, it is stated (*De Div.*, 2, 7) that a change has taken place in Cicero's plan of literary work in consequence of Cæsar's death, implying that Cicero will return to public life and will therefore have less time to devote to writing. This announcement at the beginning of the second book of the *De Divinatione* simply indicates that the first book of that treatise was probably finished before the death of Cæsar. Then the statement *interiectus est etiam nuper liber* etc. (*De Div.*, 2, 3) shows that the *Cato Maior* must already have been written either before the first book of the *De Divinatione*, or before the second book of that work was begun. It follows therefore that the *Cato Maior* in either case was written before the death of Cæsar.

2. The word *nuper* occurring in the letter *Ad Att.*, 14, 21, 3, dated 12 May, 44 B. C., is so elastic in signification that it may readily mean December, 45 B. C., or January or February, 44 B. C., just as well as April, 45 B. C., which the adherents of the later date assume. This argument of itself therefore is inconclusive. But while two letters (*Ad Att.*, 16, 3, 1 and *ib.*, 16, 11, 3, dated respectively 17 July and 5 November, 44 B. C.) express Cicero's gratification that the *Cato Maior* has merited Atticus's approval, the first letter (*Ad Att.*, 14, 21, 3, dated 12 May, 44 B. C.) contains a suggestive passage (§ 3) which is thought to argue for the earlier date of composition. The passage reads, *Legendus mihi sæpius est Cato Maior ad te missus. Amariorem enim me senectus facit. Stomachor omnia.* Now what was it that had embittered Cicero's life? It appears from the context that the source of that disquietude was Cicero's disappointment at the turn affairs had taken in transferring the tyranny from Cæsar to Antony, whose abuse of unlimited power gave the friends of the Republic ample ground for alarm. Cicero then felt keenly the need of that philosophic calm which he had

written about in his *Cato Maior*. Hence he speaks of having repeatedly read that essay. This would indicate that the *Cato Maior* must have been written before Cæsar's assassination; otherwise it would hardly be possible for Cicero, in a letter written less than two months after that momentous event, to mention the circumstance of his having read the essay repeatedly.

3. The allusion to the troubles which weighed so heavily upon Cicero and his friend Atticus, contained in the *Cato Maior* (§ 1), is extremely vague and no argument can be grounded upon it. So indefinite is the passage that it may be understood to refer to the fears Cicero and Atticus entertained under Cæsar's régime quite as readily as to those apprehensions they felt under Antony. Cicero in his *Cato Maior* offers some comfort of philosophy for the evils of the times, be those times the troublous days before Cæsar's taking off when tyranny threatened to extinguish Roman liberty, or even the more turbulent period which immediately followed the assassination of the would-be monarch, when Antony boldly inaugurated his policy of self-aggrandizement. Nor does it follow that the introduction to the *Cato Maior* would necessarily have contained some specific allusions to Cæsar's dictatorship, as the adherents to the later date claim, because that essay was written before Cæsar's death.

4. In reply to the argument that the calm and serene note of the *Cato Maior* indicates that the work must have been written just after Cæsar's murder, it is sufficient to say that Cicero's pleasure at that event was entirely too effervescent and transient to be used as an argument. For Cicero's outburst of joy very speedily gave place to even deeper gloom than that which had settled down upon his spirit during Cæsar's dictatorship, and the philosopher was again plunged into the depths of despondency and the slough of despair. The spirit of the *Cato Maior* is not

that of exultant joy; it is rather that of a subdued tranquil philosophy which is prepared to make the best of whatever situation in life presents itself. Cicero here accepts with calm submission the inevitable — his enforced retirement from public life — and devotes himself with resignation to the field still open to him, of applying the teachings of philosophy even to old age so as to rid it of its discomforts and to make its natural burdens lighter to bear. Now this was the temper Cicero exhibited before the fateful Ides of March, 44 B. C.

It appears therefore that the evidence is in favor of the earlier date and tends to establish that the *Cato Maior* was written prior to the assassination of Cæsar, perhaps by January or February, 44 B. C. Some editors have pointed out the resemblance of the arguments and illustrations used in the *Cato Maior* to those in the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations* and accordingly infer that the *Cato Maior* must have been written shortly after the composition of the first book of the *Tusculan Disputations*. As that book was composed probably in the summer of 45 B. C., the date of the composition of the *Cato Maior* would appear to be the autumn of 45 B. C. But this cannot be proved. The evidence only warrants the probable conclusion that the *Cato Maior* was written shortly before the 15 March, 44 B. C. The work seems to have been composed rather hurriedly, if we may judge from a letter to Atticus (*Ad Att.*, 16, 3, 1, dated 16 July, 44 B. C.), in which Cicero tells him that he is sending him the *Cato Maior* revised in numerous passages (*crebris locis*).

2. THE PLAN AND FORM OF THE CATO MAIOR

The *Cato Maior* is dedicated to Atticus, Cicero's lifelong friend, as is also the similar treatise on Friendship, the *Lælius*.

The *Cato Maior* purports to be a dialogue which took place 150 B. C. (one year before the death of Cato), and the interlocutors are the Elder Cato, Scipio and Lælius. Scipio and Lælius meet at the house of Cato. Scipio expresses his surprise at Cato's cheerfulness under the burdens incident to old age, manifesting his admiration for Cato's vigor and cheerful disposition. Cato replies that the secret consists in following the guidance of nature. Lælius thereupon requests Cato to tell how such a happy old age may be attained. Cato accedes to the request and begins by naming several old men whose lives were useful and happy till death. He then reviews in detail the various indictments against old age and shows them each in turn to be without foundation in fact. The four charges which Cato refutes are: 1. Old age withdraws men from active life. 2. Old age weakens the physical powers. 3. Old age removes the capacity for enjoyment. 4. Old age involves the anticipation of death. The refutation of this last charge leads Cato into a discussion of death, and with this discussion the essay closes. Cato is the principal speaker and Lælius and Scipio take so minor a part in the dialogue as to render it very questionable whether the production can properly be called a dialogue. The work seems more of the nature of an essay than of a dialogue.

The *Cato Maior* has only the slight disguise of dialogue. Custom prescribed this form for an essay, and Cicero made this concession to convention in almost all of his philosophical writings. For the dialogue was a favorite rhetorical device with the ancients when some abstruse philosophical subject was to be discussed. This species of composition contributed to the clearness and force of the discussion, at the same time heightening the dramatic interest.

There were two distinct types of dialogue — the Aristo-

telian and the Platonic. The type established by Aristotle emphasized the exposition, giving but little discussion, and made one character conspicuous in setting forth his views in detail. In the type of dialogue practiced by Plato, on the other hand, although there is one chief character (Socrates), he simply directs the discussion and draws out the interlocutors by a quick interplay of question and answer. Cicero adopted the Aristotelian method as better suited to his purpose as well as being in greater favor. The method of Plato was not popular among the Roman writers and therefore found very few followers. But Aristotle's style found a large number of imitators from Theophrastus down to Cicero.

3. CICERO'S METHOD

Cicero advisedly selected Cato the Censor as the leading character in his discourse on old age, and in the opening chapter of the *Lælius* (§ 4) he gives the reason for his choice. Cato was a notable example of a man who had attained to a green old age, whose influence and character challenged the esteem and admiration of the entire Roman world. So by speaking through the mouth of such a prominent personage of a former generation as Cato, who was the beau ideal of a contented and useful old age, Cicero imparted additional interest and weight to his own opinions and reflections: and his philosophical arguments thus presented as the words of an eminent Roman of a by-gone age made a far stronger appeal to the practical Roman mind than the mere words of Cicero could ever have done.

But it is to be observed that Cicero's method involved an idealization of his hero, — a form of hero worship which is frequent enough even in our own times. The Cato, therefore, whom Cicero portrays in his essay on old age is not the real Cato. He is not the Cato of history,

— that uncouth, austere, narrow-minded, keen-tongued old Roman who was intensely practical and patriotic in all the relations of life. He is not that Cato of extreme prejudice and partisanship who hated the nobility and relentlessly hounded the great Africanus till he drove the conqueror of Hannibal into enforced retirement at his villa near Naples. Nor is Cicero's Cato the stern censor, the merciless castigator of manners and men, who delighted to accuse and degrade those high in public life, at the same time in a spirit of self-righteousness exalting by contrast his own vaunted simple, virtuous life. Cicero paints Cato as a sage deeply versed in Greek philosophy and learning (§§ 11, 23, 39, etc.). But the real Cato of flesh and blood is known to have set himself in dogged opposition to everything that smacked in the least of Greek culture and refinement. By a special decree he even caused the famous Athenian embassy (Carneades, Critolaus and Diogenes), when they began to lecture on Greek philosophy, during their sojourn at Rome in 155 B. C., to leave the city forthwith and return home, on the alleged ground that their teaching tended to corrupt the Roman youth (Pliny, *N. H.*, 7, 112; Plutarch, *Cato*, 22). The ideal Cato of Cicero was a liberal, far-seeing statesman who merged his own personal dislikes in unselfish devotion to the service of his country. The real Cato of history, on the contrary, was a devoted patriot, to be sure, but a narrow, short-sighted statesman who could never entirely subordinate his own personal animosity in his conduct as a public servant.

Cicero's method of idealizing Cato is probably the result of hero worship. Cato was several generations removed from Cicero's age and was regarded among the most illustrious of the old Romans who had contributed to the upbuilding of the mighty Republic and its great prestige as a world power. This was the popular concep-

tion of Cato's character, and Cicero did not venture to shatter an accepted ideal, or to dispel the illusion. It is evident that Cicero was not critical in the composition of his *Cato Maior*. Moreover, it is not improbable that there was some political reason for his idealization of Cato. For Cicero was himself, no doubt, disgusted with the political situation which existed at Rome at that time. Cæsar was endeavoring to usurp all power and make himself supreme, — a circumstance which was a source of untold distress to the supporters of the republican form of government. Perhaps it was this reason that led Cicero to hark back to the good old times of the Republic and to select as the leading character of his dialogue a statesman of that golden age, who exemplified in his conduct the ideal Roman virtues of simplicity, unwavering devotion to principle and unquestioned patriotism. Cicero chose Cato as the representative statesman of that age just as he had previously made Africanus the Younger the chief character in his *De Re Publica* and as he later made Lælius the hero of his essay on friendship. Now in portraying Cato as the representative statesman of the period of the Punic War, which is set forth in sharp contrast with his own existing age, Cicero was naturally enough tempted to exaggerate the virtues of his hero and to be rather blind to his faults.

But the political purpose of the *Cato Maior* is not made obtrusive; it is rather held in abeyance. The ostensible purpose of the essay, it is true, was the application of the principles of philosophy to the relief of the increasing burdens of old age. The dialogue therefore is primarily and really a treatise on ethics. The author himself acknowledges the genuine comfort he derived from the arguments brought forward in the essay, and in the dedication he expresses the hope that Atticus may likewise derive benefit from the discourse. There is no reason

to doubt Cicero's sincerity in his expressed wish. Furthermore, we learn from his letters (*Ad Att.*, 16, 3, 1; 16, 11, 3; 14, 21, 3) that Atticus did find the *Cato Maior* a source of comfort to him in those troublous political times and acknowledged his debt of gratitude to Cicero for the composition of the essay.

4. THE SOURCES OF THE CATO MAIOR

The *Cato Maior*, like all of Cicero philosophical writings, is based on Greek originals to a greater or less extent. For, after all, Cicero's purpose was simply to interpret Greek philosophy to the Roman world, and he was himself in no sense a philosopher by instinct. This is evident from the fact that he devoted himself to philosophy only after his enforced retirement from political life. Yet he accomplished a vast deal in his self-assumed rôle of interpreter of Greek philosophy to the Roman mind. Incidentally he placed the Romans under lasting obligation to him for his valuable service in enriching the Latin tongue by the creation of a philosophical vocabulary, — an enrichment by which not only all the Romanic languages, but also our own English speech has greatly profited. For during the Middle Ages when these several languages were developing and extending their respective spheres of influence, Cicero was recognized by the learned world as the leading exponent of Greek thought and learning, and scholars eagerly studied his works and their native tongues were enriched not a little by his philosophical vocabulary.

But to be more explicit, Cicero drew chiefly upon Xenophon's *Œconomicus*, of which § 59 and §§ 79–82 of the *Cato Maior* are almost a literal translation. He also made drafts upon Plato's *Phaedo* (67 D), *Cratylus* (400 C), *Phaedrus* (245 C *seq.*), as for example §§ 77 and 78 of the *Cato Maior* setting forth the doctrine of the divine origin

and destiny of the soul. The conversation in the early part of the dialogue (*Cato Maior*, §§ 4–8) bears a close resemblance to the dialogue between Socrates and Cephalus in the opening of Plato's *Republic*.

It cannot be affirmed that there was any specific Greek treatise on old age upon which Cicero based his *Cato Maior*, or which he used as a model. It is true, however, that he does make cursory mention (*Cato Maior*, § 3) of Aristo Ceus's work on old age, but as the writings of that peripatetic philosopher have all long since perished, it cannot be established that Cicero made use of that treatise. Nor can it be proved that Cicero was indebted to Theophrastus or Demetrius Phalereus, each of whom wrote a formal discourse on old age. Yet it is quite probable that Cicero made use of some Greek work on old age which he took as his model, adapting the arguments and examples to his own purpose, although this cannot be definitely determined.

5. CATO

Marcus Porcius Cato was born at Tusculum in Latium, not far from Rome, in the year 234 B. C.[1] His family was plebeian and owned a small patrimony in the rocky Sabine country, where Marcus Porcius passed his boyhood, engaged in hard work on the farm.[2] The Sabines were a people of severe simplicity of manners, and among

[1] Livy (39, 40, 12) and Plutarch (*Cato*, 15, end) speak of Cato as 90 years old at the time of his death, which would argue for 239 as the date of his birth. The date of Cato's death, 149 B. C., is well attested by Cicero (*Brutus*, 61 and 80, *Cato Maior*, 14), Pliny (*N. H.*, 29, 15, *DCV anno urbis nostrae . . . LXXXV suo*) and Velleius Paterculus (1, 12, *Ante triennium quam Carthago deleretur M. Cato perpetuus dicendae eius auctor L. Censorino, M. Manilio consulibus mortem obiit*). It appears from the evidence then that 234 B. C. is the date of Cato's birth.

[2] Festus, p. 281 M, says, *Cato in ea quam scribit de suis virtutibus contra Thermum: Ego iam a principio in parsimonia atque in duritia atque industria omnem adolescentiam meam abstinui agro colendo, saxis Sabinis, silicibus repastinandis, atque conserendis.*

them Cato, no doubt, imbibed as a boy that love of the austere virtues which he practiced throughout his long life. He delighted to return to his farm during his furloughs, or when not occupied with public business, and with eagerness and alacrity he would enter into the simple rustic life. As to his personal appearance history is silent except that Plutarch (*Cato*, 1) remarks upon his red hair and grey-green eyes.[1] As for his education it may be assumed that he received the best that his provincial town afforded, but there is no evidence that he went to Rome to complete his education. His boyhood was passed in the peaceful interval between the First and Second Punic Wars.[2]

Cato entered upon his career as a soldier early in the Hannibalic war, after the defeat at Lake Trasimenus in 217 B. C., when he was seventeen years old (Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 2; Plutarch, *Cato*, 1). There is every reason to believe that he saw hard service as a private. The first action in which he is thought to have been engaged was the campaign of Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator against Hannibal in Campania, in 214 B. C. (*Cato Maior*, § 10). Cato entertained only the highest esteem for his commander as a man and statesman and refers to his record with admiring approval. Plutarch (*Cato*, 1) speaks in terms of commendation of Cato's military service and we may readily believe that as a soldier Cato acquitted himself with credit in whatever campaigns he served.

By dint of his own manly character Cato early won the esteem and friendship of the eminent statesman M. Valerius Flaccus, who was of the same political school as the conservative Fabius Cunctator. It was through the in-

[1] Plutarch (cap. 1) quotes the epigram in reference to Cato:

"Red-haired, grey-eyed, savage-tusked as well,
Porcius will find no welcome e'en in hell."

[2] For a more detailed sketch of Cato, see Oskar Jäger, *Marcus Porcius Cato*, Gütersloh, 1892, Cortese, *De M. Porci Catonis vita*, etc., Savona, 1882.

fluence of these two powerful patrons that Cato was promoted from the ranks to the military tribuneship under Marcellus in Sicily, in 214 B. C. (Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 2). He served under Fabius at the fall of Tarentum, in 209 B. C. (*Cato Maior*, 10), and also under C. Claudius Nero, two years later, at the battle at the Metaurus in which he achieved great distinction as a soldier (Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 2). This battle was memorable as the battle in which Hasdrubal, the brother of Hannibal, was defeated by Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero, and Cato, despite his fatigue from Nero's forced marches from Apulia to Umbria, contributed no insignificant part to the famous victory.

In 204 B. C. Cato was made quæstor, which was the first step in his political career. The fact that as a *novus homo*, without the aid of family influence or fortune, he forged his way to the front and attained to this office at the age of thirty, is altogether to his credit and proves that he, like Cicero later, felt the stirrings of an early ambition to make his name illustrious. Cato had already acquired an enviable reputation as an orator, first in the provincial courts and later in Rome. Plutarch (*Cato*, 2) says that Cato, at the age of 30, had won such a name for himself as a speaker that he was spoken of as "the Roman Demosthenes." It was probably the influence of his powerful patron and life-long friend L. Valerius Flaccus that helped to elevate Cato to the first post in his political career (cf. Plutarch, *Cato*, 3). For Flaccus owned an estate near Cato's Sabine farm and no doubt early became interested in this young man of such unusual promise, rendering him freely the aid of his counsel as opportunity offered.

It is not known just when Cato removed from Tusculum to Rome, but it was evidently prior to his election to the quæstorship. As quæstor he was assigned to duty on the staff of Scipio, then in Sicily, on his way to Africa.

The appointment, however, was not happy because the quæstor and consul were so diametrically opposite in taste and temperament that Cato and Scipio could find but little congeniality in their official relations (Plutarch, *Cato*, 11). Moreover, Cato was associated with the party in the Roman senate that was opposed to Scipio and that preferred charges of excessive cruelty against his command in Southern Italy (Plutarch, *Cato*, 3). It is not surprising therefore that Cato saw much to complain of and censure in Scipio's prodigal habits as commander of the Roman army in Africa (Livy, 29, 19, 11–12). This was the beginning of the life-long enmity between Cato and Scipio (Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 3). Cato was allowed to return to Rome, coming by way of Sardinia, and he brought with him the poet Ennius (Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 4). It is not established whether Cato sailed from Sicily or from Africa, but the evidence favors the latter, since he certainly sailed to Africa with Scipio's fleet (Livy, 29, 25, 10).

In 199 B. C. Cato was elected plebeian ædile (Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 4) and he administered the office with characteristic severity. The following year he was chosen prætor and given Sardinia as his province. His administration of that province was of course severe, but at the same time in sharp contrast with the lavish and corrupt precedent set by former governors (Livy, 32, 27, 3–4). Yet Plutarch (*Cato*, 6) tells us that the provincials were pleased because Cato maintained a strict discipline over the troops and kept his lynx eye on the extortionate moneylenders and all other violators of the law, and was not accompanied by a vast retinue of attendants in his official visits through the province. It is related that his retinue as prætor representing the great Roman Republic consisted of one lone servant.

In 195 B. C. Cato entered upon office as consul with his

friend Valerius Flaccus as colleague. Among his first services as consul Cato endeavored to prevent the repeal of the Oppian law (passed during the gloomy times of the Second Punic War), which made extravagance in dress and feminine adornment a criminal offense. Despite Cato's vigorous speech and his strong plea for simplicity, economy and frugality (Livy, 34, 1–8), the law was repealed, but only after a great demonstration on the part of the Roman matrons. Cato succeeded in carrying the *lex Porcia* designed to protect the provincials from extortion by unjust officials (cf. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, 1, 204, ii, 1, 16). It fell to his lot as consul to pacify affairs in the two provinces of Spain. Accordingly, setting out from Rome with five servants as his retinue to take command of the consular army in Spain,[1] he soon arrived on the scene of action and sent back home most encouraging reports of his success as a general. He displayed marked ability and courage in this campaign and succeeded in reducing the entire province — both *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior* — to peace and order (Livy, 34, 13, 8; *ib.*, 14–16; Plutarch, *Cato*, 10). He maintained rigid discipline in the army and practiced the strictest economy in his expenditures, at the same time giving careful attention to increasing the revenues of the State from the mines and other public properties. All the captured goods of the enemy went to swell the exchequer, not to the personal aggrandizement of the general and his legions. The result was, when Cato returned to Rome to celebrate his triumph, immense quantities of gold and silver bullion and of money were exhibited in the procession through the streets of the city, and substantial sums of money were distributed as gifts

[1] It is related that Cato left his house with only three servants for his journey, but on arriving at the Forum, he reflected that his retinue was hardly worthy of a Roman consul, and so he bought two more slaves on the spot (Val. Max., 4, 3, 11; Plut., *Cato*, 4; Apul., *Apol.*, 17).

among the soldiers who had helped their leader to achieve his triumph (Livy, 34, 46, 2; Plut., *Cato*, 11; Nepos, *Cato*, 2, 1). It proved a great triumph and fitly signalized Cato's brilliant consulship.

After this achievement Cato returned to private life, spending a good part of his time, as we may suppose, on his Sabine farm. On the outbreak of the war against Antiochus, the stern old Roman offered his services, along with his friend Valerius Flaccus, to his country and accepted the humble commission as tribune of the soldiers, under the command of Manius Acilius Glabrio, the consul of the year 191 B. C. (cf. *Cato Maior*, 32; also Plut., *Cato*, 12).[1] Cato conducted a division of the army over the mountains, through the pass at Thermopylæ, along the historic route followed by the Persians centuries before, and attacked the rear-guard of Antiochus, utterly routing the entire army of the enemy. Thus by a daring feat Cato helped to win the notable battle of Thermopylæ, which compelled Antiochus to retire from Greece (Livy, 36, 18, 8; Plut., *Cato*, 13-14). Cato was thereupon despatched to Rome to carry the glad tidings of the victory and he made the journey in a remarkably short time. Plutarch (*Cato*, 14) says that the trip from Brundisium to Rome was made in five days. This was probably the last expedition in which Cato engaged. From this time to the end of his life he figured as one of the leading characters in the arena of Roman politics.

Cato had hardly settled in Rome before he began to interest himself in politics. He began in the conventional way by attacking certain abuses in public affairs. The custom had long been established for the magistrates to seek lucrative posts of honor as governors of provinces. Most of these provincial governors were corrupt and bent

[1] Livy (36, 17, 1) says that Cato was *consularis legatus*, which statement conflicts with the foregoing. But see Frontinus, *Strat.*, 2, 4, 4.

on self-aggrandizement, and they did not hesitate to exasperate the long-suffering provincials to the point of rebellion and then suppress the mimic war, simply in order to have the senate decree them a triumph in honor of a sham victory alleged to have been won by Roman valor. Cato saw in such practices a flagrant abuse of privilege and resolved to correct it. Accordingly, in the year 190 B. C. he vigorously opposed the proposal to grant a triumph to Q. Minucius Thermus and carried his point, the senate refusing to grant the triumph. In the following year, Cato as a candidate for the censorship with his colleague Valerius Flaccus appeared as a witness against his recent commander M'. Acilius Glabrio (who was now his rival for office), who was charged with misappropriation of money during his expedition in Thessaly; and Glabrio was forced to retire from the field as a candidate (Livy, 37, 57, 10; Jordan, p. 45, Cato's speech against Glabrio). After all, however, Cato and Flaccus were defeated and Marcellus and Flaminius were the successful candidates.

Nothing daunted by this defeat, Cato continued his reform work in politics. He spoke against the proposal to grant a triumph to the two consuls of the year 189 B. C., M. Fulvius Nobilior and Cn. Manlius Vulso. Nobilior, it is true, had won a few minor victories from the Ætolians; but Vulso had actually exceeded the authority of his office in making war upon the Gauls of Asia Minor without the approval or consent of the Roman senate. Yet Cato's opposition was unavailing to deprive these consuls of their meed of honor, and a triumph was granted them by the senate.

But notwithstanding the defeat of his reform measures, Cato was growing more and more influential in the State, and as representative of the popular party he was destined soon to become the recognized leader of the oppo-

sition to the aristocratic rule. He next ventured to select the Scipios as the objects of his drastic reform measures, and upon them he made a bitter attack. The charge was made in the senate that L. Scipio Asiaticus had misappropriated public money during his campaign against Antiochus. The great Africanus was also involved, and Cato made a virulent attack upon him. The trial lasted almost two years (187–185 B. C.), and the result of the matter was that Lucius Scipio (Asiaticus) had to pay an enormous fine and Africanus withdrew from Rome. Africanus retired to his country estate near Liternum, in the vicinity of Naples, where he spent the brief residue of his days, and never again returned to Rome (Livy, 38, 53, 8; 38, 54, 11; Plut., *Cato*, 15). Livy (38, 54, 1) speaks of Cato as entertaining an inveterate animosity toward Africanus and characterizes his merciless nagging as barking at Scipio's greatness (Quint., 8, 6, 9). Thus Cato at last gloated over his illustrious victim and forced the famous conqueror of Hannibal into voluntary exile.

Cato now stood for the censorship again, and this time was successful, with Valerius Flaccus his colleague. From 184–183 Cato filled this important office with which his name was ever afterward to be inseparably associated in Roman history. Flaccus lent all the authority and influence at his command to render Cato's trenchant reform of manners and morals a thorough success (Livy, 39, 41, 4). On entering upon office Cato resolved to hew to the line, no matter where the chips fell. He first signalized his administration by dropping seven senators from the list (Livy, 39, 42, 5–7) — among them L. Quinctius Flaminius an ex-consul and brother of the distinguished Flaminius and the ex-prætor Manilius (*Cato Maior*, 42). He appointed his colleague Valerius Flaccus leader of the senate in place of Scipio Africanus (Livy, 38, 56, 1; also 39, 52, 1). He endeavored to keep down

extravagance by increasing the tax on articles of luxury; he looked carefully after the public works and did not allow the contractors to exact too great a margin of profit. He farmed out all the public revenues to the highest bidder. He denounced the degeneracy of the times in numerous speeches and strove to win the nation back to the old paths of plain and austere manners and simple living.

As a result Rome was placed under obligation to Cato's censorship for many civic improvements including better harbor facilities, superior sewerage system, more abundant water supply and more equable distribution of public utilities. Moreover, Cato inaugurated a new era of municipal art decoration by erecting the first exchange building at Rome — the Basilica Porcia, located near the senate house adjoining the Forum — and various other public improvements (Livy, 39, 44, 7; Plut., *Cato*, 19). His example stimulated his successors and so the city was subsequently embellished with additional basilicas, thus greatly enhancing the architectural beauty of ancient Rome. At the conclusion of his tenure of the censorship Cato delivered a speech reviewing his services to the State and the public improvements he had made in the city; and a statue [1] of the famous censor (henceforth styled "*censorius*") was erected in the temple of Salus, with an inscription dwelling in detail upon his achievements as a reformer of the manners and customs of the Roman people (Plut., *Cato*, 19).

But Cato's reforms were not all destined to be permanent and lasting. He was soon compelled to experience the chagrin of witnessing some of his senatorial victims rise to positions of great prominence and receive the flattering attentions of public favor. Luxury and extrava-

[1] Up to this time Cato had always affected to despise statues, affirming that he preferred to live in the memory of his people and to have men ask why no statue was erected to him rather than why he had a statue (Plut., *loc. cit.*; Ammian., 14, 6, 8).

gance had only been checked for a brief period by the vigilance of the austere censor, and after his retirement from power they again manifested their presence in a variety of ways. For the new fashion of luxurious living which Scipio had introduced from the East had come to be recognized as an essential part of Roman civilization. Even Cato himself must have realized in his opposition thereto that he was following a forlorn hope, and fighting a losing battle, though he won a nominal victory.

Cato, after his retirement from the censorship, continued to hold his place as the leader of the opposition to the senatorial oligarchy. He supported a number of measures intended to curb bribery, individual extravagance and the dissipation of family property, such as the *lex Orchia*, the *lex Baebia de ambitu* and the *lex Furia* and the *lex Voconia*. He never failed to champion the cause of the provinces whenever they were oppressed by corrupt and immoral governors, and such men he invariably denounced in most vehement and scathing language. In the year 171 B. C. he served on a commission of five to prosecute certain ex-prætors who were guilty of malfeasance of office in Spain (Livy, 43, 2, 5). He was most influential in the senate in shaping the foreign policy of the Republic. In 167 B. C. he ardently espoused the cause of the Rhodians and saved them from severe punishment when probably the Romans had just reasons for meting out to that feeble nation the full penalty their alleged offense called for (Livy, 45, 25, 2–3). He stoutly opposed the annexation of Macedonia at the conclusion of the Third Macedonian War and his counsel prevailed.

Cato was recognized as the uncompromising enemy of Greek culture and learning.[1] It excites but little surprise therefore that he expressed much concern at the favor-

[1] Jordan, p. 27, thinks Cato, however, did not despise the Greek nation as a whole.

able reception accorded the famous Athenian embassy of philosophers — Carneades, Critolaus and Diogenes — on the occasion of their visit to Rome in 155 B. C., and that, moreover, he exerted his utmost influence to have them leave the city forthwith lest they corrupt the Roman youth by their new doctrine (Plut., *Cato*, 22; Pliny, *N. H.*, 7, 112[1]). Cato was likewise an implacable enemy of Carthage. So, when about 153 B. C., the relations between that great rival power and Rome were strained almost to the acute stage and the Roman senate despatched an embassy to Africa to report upon the condition of Carthage, Cato was selected for the mission,[2] and since he saw in Carthage's supremacy upon the Mediterranean a constant menace to Rome's increasing influence, he advocated on his return from Africa the utter destruction of that prosperous nation. It is a familiar story that Cato made a stirring speech in the Roman senate, closing with the words *ceterum censeo delendam esse Carthaginem* (Plut., *Cato*, 27; Pliny, *N. H.*, 15, 74), and that whenever thereafter he had occasion to speak in that body, he invariably added these words at the end of his speech.[3] But Publius Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Africanus and the able exponent of the policy that noble Roman stood for, it is alleged, always advocated the opposite sentiment, pointing out that the Romans might grow insolent and indifferent as a result of their prosperity (see quotation from Florus below). It need hardly be

1 Pliny, *N. H.*, 7, 112, *Cato censorius in illa nobili trium sapientiae procerum ab Athenis legatione audito Carneade quam primum legatos eos censuit dimittendos quoniam illo viro argumentante quid veri esset haud facile discerni posset.* Cf. also *De Orat.*, 2, 155 *seq.*; *Ad Att.*, 12, 23, 2; *Acad.*, 2, 137, etc.

2 Jäger, *Marcus Porcius Cato*, pp. 68-69, discredits the legend of Cato's bringing back and exhibiting in the senate a couple of fresh figs as indicating Carthage's nearness to Rome and is disposed to regard the entire story as legendary.

3 Livy, *Per.*, 48-49; Florus 1, 31 (= 2, 15), *Cato inexpiabili odio delendam esse Carthaginem et cum de alio consuleretur, pronuntiabat, Scipio Nasica servandam, ne metu ablato aemulae luxuriari felicitas urbis inciperet.*

remarked that Cato's advice was ultimately followed and Carthage was blotted out in 146 B. C., though the rugged old Censor never lived to see the day.

Among Cato's last public acts was the prosecution of Ser. Sulpicius Galba, who, it was alleged, had violated his pledge to the Lusitanians and treated them with excessive cruelty (Livy, *Per.*, 49; Cicero, *Brutus*, 89; Plut., *Cato*, 15). This activity of Cato's in the public service was in the year 149, when he was over four score years old and his faculties were naturally somewhat impaired. Yet such was the old Censor's influence as a prosecutor that Galba, though rated by Cicero the foremost orator of that age (*Brutus*, 82), surrendered his case, commending himself to the mercy of the people (*ib.*, 90). Cato retained his vigor and activity as a public man to the very end, dying in 149 B. C., at the ripe old age of 85. He had passed through stormy times and had made for himself many enemies by his keen tongue, his rough wit, his personal acrimony, and his self-trumpeted austerity. He had attacked many a man in public life and was himself, in turn, accused 44 times (Pliny, *N. H.*, 7, 100, *quater et quadragiens*, cf. Val. Max., 3, 7, 7), but was invariably vindicated. Even in his eighty-first year he was arraigned on a public charge, when he complained of the difficulty of defending himself before another generation (Plut., *Cato*, 15). A man of striking personality, he made a deep and abiding impression upon his own age and left behind him a memory and a record which posterity cherished among the most valuable heritages from those early times when Rome was but little more than an Italian state.

6. CATO'S WRITINGS

Notwithstanding Cato's ceaseless and varied political activities from the close of his military career to the end of his life, he seems to have found no little time to devote

to literature. His writings were held in high esteem by the following generations. His speeches were numerous and are reputed to have been read even down to the fourth century of the Christian era. The Emperor Hadrian, according to his biographer Spartianus (*Hadr.*, 16, 6), professed to prefer Cato's orations to Cicero's, but we may presume that this was a mere affectation. Cicero himself, however, was free to acknowledge his profound admiration of Cato's style and tells us (*Brutus*, 65) that more than 150 of Cato's orations were extant in his day. Fragments of eighty-four others have been preserved (Jordan, p. 33 *seq.*).

Cato's *magnum opus* was his *Origines*, which is said to have engaged his attention for at least twenty years. This work contributed much to its author's fame and enjoys the distinction of being the first Roman history written in the Latin language. It really marks the beginning of Latin prose. Cato's predecessors in the field of history were mere compilers — annalists — who chronicled the important events of each year and wrote their chronicles in Greek, and not good Greek at that. Cato, who was intensely patriotic and cordially hated everything Greek, made a radical departure from the traditional practice no less in the medium than in the style and method of his history. So rejecting the current vogue of the annals of his day, he determined to make his work a genuine history of Rome based on the results of painstaking investigation into the sources, and accordingly he entitled it *Origines*. This work is not extant.

According to Nepos's summary (*Cato*, 3 *seq.*), the *Origines* comprised the history of Rome from the beginning down to the year 150 B. C., in seven books. But the scope of the work included other Italian cities as well as Rome. Indeed, of the first three books only the first is devoted to Rome, the second and third treating of other Italian

cities. The fourth book contains the history of the First Punic War and of the Second, down to the battle of Cannæ. The fifth book concluded that war and brought the history of Rome down to the conquest of Macedonia, while the two remaining books dealt with the subsequent events down to the year 150 B. C., with which the work ends. Cato incorporated a number of his speeches into the sixth and seventh books. There is a tradition that he passed over certain periods of Roman history with very slight notice and utterly disregarded the period from the expulsion of kings in 509 to the year 266 B. C. Another striking feature of the *Origines* which critics commented upon was Cato's failure in his account of the Punic wars to mention the names of the commanders in the various battles described (Nepos, *Cato*, 3, 4 [1]). No doubt the work had some glaring defects as a result of its author's idiosyncrasies. Yet it was highly esteemed by the later Roman historians as an authoritative account of the early period of Roman history.

Unlike the *Origines*, Cato's treatise on agriculture, *de Agri Cultura* or *de Re Rustica*, has been preserved. It was the first book of its kind written in Latin and was not in imitation of the existing Greek models. It was an original work dealing with almost every conceivable subject pertaining to farming and it made no claim to order or logical sequence. It is a collection of maxims and suggestions about farming, which Cato pursued with absorbing interest and pleasure. The book gives a prominent place of course to the olive and the vine as staples. It also contains all sorts of receipts, remedies for diseases, incantations, superstitions, estimates, contracts, directions for buildings and a variety of other matters not re-

[1] Nepos, Cato, 3, 4, *atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, sed sine nominibus res notavit*. Gellius, 3, 7, quoting from Cato, uses such expressions as *imperator Poenus, consul, tribunus*. Cf. Jordan, p. 18 *seq*.

lated to farming. As might be expected, Cato lays stress on the expense account, enjoining strict attention to put agriculture on a paying basis.

Cato furthermore composed a kind of encyclopædia intended for the instruction of his son[1] — *Præcepta ad Filium* (Plut., *Cato*, 20; Jordan, pp. 78–79) — and a collection of wise saws treating of ancient customs — *Carmen de Moribus* (Gellius, 11, 2; Jordan, pp. 82–83) — and still another collection of witty sayings culled from Greek and Roman sources, which he called by the Greek title Ἀποφθέγματα (Plut., *Cato*, 2; Cic., *de Off.*, 1, 104; Jordan, p. 83). Plutarch (*Cato*, 8, 9) records a few selections from Cato's own pungent sayings, for which the Censor enjoyed a considerable reputation and in consequence of which he received the cognomen "*sapiens*." Cato is also supposed to have written works on law, but no title of such a treatise has been preserved to us. Of the foregoing compilations attributed to Cato only fragments survive and these are handed down to us through the writings of other authors who quoted him. Pliny (*N. H.*, 29, 14 and 15) refers to a collection of household remedies compiled by Cato for his son, but the title is not known. Nor do we know the title of a collection of historical stories the Censor made for his son, alluded to by Plutarch (*Cato*, 20).

In this meager outline of Cato's writings perhaps it may not be deemed out of place to make a brief comment on his antipathy to Hellenism. There is a time-honored tradition that Cato began the study of Greek in his old age and worked sedulously to overcome the disadvantage which his prejudice had entailed upon him. From this it used to be inferred that the grim old Censor, despite his resolute animosity to Greek learning,[2] at last

[1] Cato's son whom he loved so fondly died when prætor-elect (*Cato Maior*, §§ 68 and 84; Livy, *Per.*, 48).

[2] Cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, 7, 112; *ib.*, 29, 14; Plut., *Cato*, 22.

yielded to the permeating charm of Hellenism and in his old age was a diligent student of that civilization. But this is, in all probability, simply a beautiful illusion, a romantic myth. For there can hardly be any doubt that Cato, during his entire life, was an uncompromising advocate of the pristine Roman simplicity of life and manners which he maintained Greek culture and learning tended to undermine and ultimately to destroy. It does not seem at all probable then that a man of such strong convictions and deep-seated prejudices, as the famous Censor was known to be, should have changed his views so radically toward the end of his days and should have surrendered the principles that he had stood for throughout his public career. His whole life was a vigorous protest against Greek civilization and culture. However, it is quite possible that Cato may have studied Greek as a means of facilitating his work in the composition of his *Origines*, and this perhaps is the foundation for the tradition as to his learning Greek in his old age (*Cato Maior*, § 26 [1]; *Acad.*, 2, 5 [2]; Quintilian, 12, 11, 23 [3]). Certainly there does not seem to be any sufficient warrant in fact for the notion that Cato possessed any keen appreciation of the ideal beauty of Greek literature and art, or that he manifested any special enthusiasm for the noble creations of the Greek genius. All of his instincts as a man were practical and utilitarian, and art and beauty did not therefore make any very strong appeal to him. His attitude toward Hellenism consequently was not likely to undergo any very radical change, even if he did take up the study of Greek in his old age, and it is not

[1] *Cato Maior*, § 26, *ego feci qui litteràs Graecas senex didici.*

[2] *Acad.*, 2, 5, *cum Graecas litteras M. Catonem in senectute didicisse acceperim.*

[3] Quint., 12, 11, 23, *litteras Graecas aetate iam declinata didicit, ut esset hominibus documento, ea quoque percipi posse, quae senes concupissent.*

probable that at the end of his days he renounced the convictions he had steadfastly entertained all through life.[1]

7. SCIPIO

Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus, one of the interlocutors in the *Cato Maior*, was born about 185 B. C., and was thirty-five years old at the time of this fictitious dialogue. He was the natural son of Lucius Æmilius Paulus who subjugated Macedonia, and the adopted son of Publius Cornelius Scipio whose father, the great Africanus, conquered Hannibal. He took the surname of Æmilianus to denote his real descent from Æmilius Paulus and was called the younger (*minor*) to distinguish him from his adoptive grandfather Africanus the elder (*maior*). Scipio was brought into intimate relation with Cato, because Cato's son had married his sister, a daughter of Paulus. Despite the old enmity existing between their families, Scipio entertained a warm admiration for Cato's homely virtues and sturdy character.

When young Scipio was only seventeen years of age, he won distinction by his daring exploits at the battle of Pydna. In the dark days of 151 B. C., when men and even officers were loth to enlist for service in Spain, in consequence of the many defeats the Roman arms had suffered in that quarter, Scipio went as a volunteer and made a brilliant record as military tribune. Likewise in Africa, in the Third Punic War, he increased his fame as a soldier, occupying the same rank. On his return to Rome in 148 B. C., he offered himself as a candidate for the ædileship, but was elected consul. As consul in 147 and again in 146 he pressed the war against Carthage with resolute vigor and courage and at length brought the war to a success-

[1] See, however, Ricci, *Catone nell' opposizione alla cultura greca e ai grecheggianti*, Palermo, 1895.

ful close by blotting out that quondam formidable rival of Rome. It is related that the fate of Carthage was a source of constant regret to him afterward, however, because he feared it boded ill to Rome's greatness and prestige as a nation to expand farther.

In the year 143 B. C. Scipio was elected censor and he administered that important office with almost as much severity as Cato had done years before. Such was the people's unbounded confidence in Scipio's ability and efficiency that he was elected consul in the year 134 B. C. when he did not even stand for the office, and was sent to Spain to take control of the Roman army then besieging Numantia. This war had been dragging on for several years and the Roman arms had sustained many severe reverses. But Scipio, on taking charge, inspired fresh hope and courage into the legions, with the result that Numantia was captured in 133 B. C. and the war speedily brought to an end. But an incident occurred while he was before Numantia which cost him the favor of the Roman people. When tidings were received by him there of the murder of Tiberius Gracchus whose sister Scipio had married, he let fall a remark indicating that he did not approve of the principles Gracchus stood for. Scipio simply uttered his convictions, for, though he may have received overtures from the democratic party, still he did not believe in the policy the democrats represented in the government. A striking illustration of his waning popularity was furnished by the fact that when two years later Scipio offered himself for the command of the war against Aristonicus, he received the support of barely twelve tribes of the thirty-five.

In the year 129 B. C. Scipio strenuously opposed in the senate the plan of carrying out the agrarian law of Tiberius Gracchus and ardently championed the cause of certain Italians whose interests the execution of that law threat-

ened. After his ringing speech, which was followed by a violent scene in the senate, he was escorted home by a host of his clients and admirers. On the following morning he was found dead in bed, and there was a suspicion that he had been murdered. It was never determined whether he died a natural death or by violence, and public sentiment was divided. Cicero in the *Lælius* (§§ 12, 41, etc.) implies that Scipio's death was from natural causes, but elsewhere (*de Orat.*, 2, 170; *Ad Fam.*, 9, 21, 3; *Qu. Fr.*, 2, 3, 3) he inclines to the view that Carbo or some partisan secured his death. Carbo's subsequent course, it is true, seemed to invite suspicion, for he took his own life presumably to forestall prosecution.

Scipio was a man of literary tastes and training, a patron of arts and letters, and a devoted follower of the new learning. He was on terms of intimacy with Polybius the Greek historian, Panætius the Stoic, and the Roman poets Lucilius and Terence, all of whom together with others he gathered about him in his Hellenistic circle. Indeed, it was rumored that Scipio either himself actually wrote or collaborated with Terence in the composition of his plays. Yet notwithstanding Scipio's ardent devotion to Hellenism, he was, unlike Africanus the Elder, a man of simple life, with no love for ostentation or display. On the contrary, in the simplicity of his outward life he even resembled Cato, whom he is reputed to have taken as his model. It is not surprising then that the stern Censor found so much in noble young Scipio to call forth his admiration and profound respect. Cicero in his *De Re Publica* 2, 1, makes Cato speak of young Scipio's virtues in extravagant terms of praise. But whether the friendship of Cato and Scipio ever reached the degree of intimacy Cicero represents must of course remain undetermined.

8. QUINTUS ENNIUS

Quintus Ennius, the first of the great Roman poets, was born at Rudiæ in Calabria, 239 B. C. He served in the Roman army in Sardinia during the Second Punic War when he met Cato, and the two men became fast friends. Upon Cato's return to Rome in the year 204 B. C. he brought Ennius with him (Nepos, *Cato*, 1, 4). Here Ennius undertook to teach Greek and translate Greek plays for a livelihood (Teuffel, *Geschichte Röm. Lit.*, 100), until his poetic talent won for him admission into the influential circle of the Elder Scipio. Ennius wrote a number of comedies, prætextæ and tragedies which were held in high repute by his contemporaries. He also wrote satires — miscellaneous poems in various metres. But it was as an epic poet that he attained his greatest renown. His most celebrated work was the *Annales*, a historical epic which set forth in eighteen books the achievements of the Roman people from Æneas's arrival in Italy down to Ennius's own day. The book was designed as a pendant to Homer and was so regarded by the Romans, though its artistic merit is small (Teuffel, *Geschichte Röm. Lit.*, 101). But the *Annales* was important as introducing the Greek epic to the Romans.

Ennius's poems have all been lost, and only fragments have come down to us preserved in the works of later Roman authors. Ennius was the greatest of the early Roman writers and his works were extensively read. Cicero was very fond of Ennius and quotes him again and again, and we are indebted to Cicero for a large number of the fragments which survive. Ennius was a missionary of culture and free thought and he turned the Latin language and poetry into the paths in which they continued to grow and develop centuries afterwards (Teuffel, *Gesch. Röm. Lit.*, 104).

9. ATTICUS

Titus Pomponius Atticus, to whom the treatises on Old Age and Friendship were dedicated, was a native of Rome, being born in 109 B. C. and consequently Cicero's senior by three years. He passed his early life, up to his twenty-fourth year, in Rome, in intimate association with Cicero. In 85 B. C., after the proscriptions of Sulla, Atticus left Rome for Athens, ostensibly to study there, but in reality for his own safety because he feared that his fortune might become an object of envy. He possessed an immense fortune which he had inherited from his father and uncle. In Athens he remained for twenty years, interesting himself in the study of Greek philosophy and literature and at the same time conducting a large business as a banker and capitalist. His return to Rome in 65 B. C. was a matter of general regret to the cultured Athenians to whom he had endeared himself during his long residence in Greece. He was familiar with the entire range of Greek and Latin literature, and literary men esteemed his scholarship so highly that they frequently invited his criticism of their productions.

Atticus was greatly interested in books and conducted at Rome a large publishing business. He maintained a large number of slaves for making copies of books both for his own extensive private library and also for sale. It is not improbable that through his agency most of Cicero's books were first published. Though a man of scholarly tastes and pursuits, Atticus himself never wrote a book, at least so far as we are informed. For a quarter of a century or longer he carried on a voluminous correspondence with his bosom friend Cicero. Of the intimacy and sincerity of their life-long friendship, however, only Cicero's letters (*Epistulæ ad Atticum*) bear ample evidence, for Atticus's letters are all lost. Atticus survived his friend eleven years, dying in 32 B. C.

In philosophy Atticus leaned toward the Epicurean school, although he probably did not accept the tenets even of that school without qualification. He perhaps preferred not to identify himself too closely with any one system. He always held himself aloof from factions and parties, and he took absolutely no part in politics. For this reason, as well as on account of his wealth and culture, he was sought out by the distinguished men of all parties. He lived on terms of intimacy with such leading men as Sulla, Pompey, Cæsar, Brutus, Antony and Octavianus.

10. LÆLIUS

Gaius Lælius, the intimate friend of Scipio Africanus Minor, just as his father before him, Gaius Lælius the elder, had been the bosom companion of Scipio Africanus Maior, was a distinguished soldier and statesman and an enthusiastic patron of letters who gathered about him a coterie of brilliant writers including the dramatist Terence. Lælius was born about 186 B. C. At thirty-five he was plebeian tribune and brought forward certain measures for the improvement of the condition of the plebeians. A little later he changed his political views and associated himself with the aristocratic party. As prætor in 145 B. C., he defeated a measure which had for its object the election of the augurs by popular vote. In the year 141 he was a candidate for the consulship, but was defeated although he had the support of Scipio. The following year, however, he stood again for the same office and was successful. He served as augur and left behind him a fine record, Cicero tells us, as a *bonus augur*.

Lælius also had a brilliant career as a soldier. He served with distinction under Scipio in the third Punic War, performing several heroic exploits. As prætor he led a successful expedition against Viriathus in Spain. Yet his renown as a statesman and philosopher surpassed even

his fame as a soldier. He was a forceful and deliberate speaker, although his oratory was not of the style termed impassioned. His language was copious, chaste and polished and reflected his high culture. Some of his speeches were extant in Cicero's time and were read by the prince of Roman orators with admiring interest. Cicero refers to one of Lælius's orations as a little gem of a speech (*aureola oratiuncula*, *Nat. Deo.*, 3, 43), though he employs less complimentary terms in referring to another (*vetustior et horridior*, *Brut.*, 83).

Lælius was a notable patron of letters and is reputed to have revised some of his friend Terence's plays. In fact, it was once believed in ancient times that he actually wrote the plays attributed to that dramatist, so pure was his Latinity (cf. Cic., *Ad Atticum*, 7, 3, 10). He was widely read in literature, both Greek and Latin. He was recognized as the foremost exponent and champion of Greek culture, which had been introduced into Rome while he was yet in his prime. At first, Greek was unpopular; but the permeating influence of Hellenic literature gradually overcame the innate prejudice of the Romans. At last, so bitter and uncompromising an opponent as Cato even yielded to the charm and is said to have begun the study of Greek after he had reached old age.

In philosophy Lælius inclined to stoicism, and he was a pupil of Diogenes and later of Panætius of Rhodes.

Lælius's character appears to have been worthy of unqualified admiration. Cicero everywhere speaks of him in the highest terms and all writers who mention him comment on his inflexible integrity and unfailing self-control. Horace speaks of his gentleness (*mitis sapientia Læli*) and his cheerfulness was well known. It is not surprising then that even during his lifetime Lælius was surnamed *sapiens*, "the wise," for he combined in his character, as very few men ever did, that ripe culture and those ideal

Roman virtues which served to make that people famous the world over for their exhibition of practical wisdom.

Cicero not only introduces Lælius in the *De Senectute*, but he also represents him as an interlocutor in two other of his works, *De Amicitia* and *De Republica*. In the *De Amicitia*, however, he invites attention especially to Lælius's friendship for Scipio. This is one of the most notable examples of friendship to be found anywhere in the ancient world. Scipio reverenced Lælius as a father, says Cicero, and Lælius, on his part, regarded Scipio as almost a god (cf. *De Republica*, 1, 18). The thoughts upon friendship which Lælius gives us in the essay on that theme, he himself tells us, are, for the most part, those entertained by Scipio.

II. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CATO MAIOR

There are numerous manuscripts of the *Cato Maior* as there are likewise of the *Lælius*, in the various European libraries. The most valuable are those in Paris and Leyden. Of the large number contained in the libraries of Italy few have any independent value. The oldest manuscripts of the *Cato Maior* are believed not to antedate the ninth century. In latter times an examination into some of the hitherto neglected manuscripts of the *Cato Maior* has thrown considerable light upon the text and led to its modification in not a few instances.

Of the more important manuscripts of the *Cato Maior* the following deserve special mention:

(L) Leidensis (Voss. F. 12), Leyden, 10th century. This manuscript was formerly esteemed of small importance, but after Mommsen's collation in 1863, it has been given precedence in authority in determining the text, — at least by Mueller.

(P) Parisinus, 6332, 9th or 10th century. This Paris manuscript ends with section 78. Before Mommsen's collation established the

high value of L, this manuscript was regarded superior to all others. A peculiar feature of this manuscript, so we are informed, is the division of the text into verses after the manner of the Scriptures. Halm rated this manuscript first in his edition (Zurich, 1861).

(B) Benedictoburanus, Munich, 4611, about the 12th century.

(E) Erfurtensis (originally at Erfurt), Berlin, Royal Library, 252, 12th century.

(I) Indersdorfiensis, Munich, 7809, 13th century.

(R) Rhenaugiensis (originally at Rheingau), Zurich, 127, 12th century (according to Halm, but Chatelain dates it 11th century, and Baiter, 15th century).

(S) Salisburgensis, Munich, 15, 964, 11th century.

(Q) Rhenaugiensis (originally at Rheingau), Zurich, 126, 12th century.

(N) A fragment at Berne, containing only §§ 80–85, 13th century.

It is upon the foregoing manuscripts that the standard text editions of the *Cato Maior* have been based. Halm's edition in the Orelli-Baiter-Halm Cicero (vols. I–IV, Zurich, 1861) did not of course include L and Q, since Mommsen did not publish the results of his collation of these manuscripts till 1863. But the Baiter-Kayser Cicero (Leipzig, 1864) profited by the readings of L and Q. C. F. W. Mueller, in his edition of Cicero (Teubner, Leipzig, 1879), accepted as the standard text, accorded the primacy to L, thus degrading P somewhat, which up to that time was believed to be the most authoritative manuscript for the text of the *Cato Maior*. Since Mueller's edition of the Teubner text, other collations have been made of newly-discovered or neglected manuscripts in Paris and Leyden and elsewhere and a new recension of P has been published, with the result that the text of the *Cato Maior* has been emended in not a few places. But the relative rating of the two best manuscripts L and P has not undergone much modification.

Of the manuscripts more recently brought to notice it may be worth while to mention the following:

(P^a) Parisinus, 5752 [Puteanus], 10th century, which agrees oftener with P than with L and is declared to be derived from P.

(Pb) Parisinus, 6364, 14th century, which contains many omissions and transpositions.

(V^i) Victorinus, 14,699 (from the abbey of St. Victor), 11th century, which agrees now with P and now with L.

(S^g) Sangermanensis, 13,340, 12th century, unimportant, with but few readings.

NOTE. — The above four manuscripts are all in Paris and were collated by Dahl (*Zur Handschriftenkunde und Kritik des Ciceronischen Cato Maior*, Christiania, 1885–1886).

(V) Voss. Lat. O. 79, 10th century (9th, according to Châtelain), more nearly related to P than to L. This is in two distinct hands, the first to § 42, the second (in a different colored ink) to end, and is reputed a very important manuscript.

(v) Voss. Lat. F. 104, 13th (Dahl), 14th century (Gemoll), related to L.

NOTE. — These two manuscripts are in Leyden and were collated by Dahl and Gemoll (*Zwei neue Hdss. zu Ciceros Cato Maior*, *Hermes*, Vol. 20 (1885), p. 331 *seq.*). de Groot also collated V (see *Hermes*, Vol. 25 (1890), p. 293 *seq.*).

(A) Ashburnhamensis (now in Paris), 9th century, related to L, an important manuscript.

NOTE. — This was collated by de Vries (*Exercitationes Palaeographicae*, Leyden, 1889).

(Ma) Laurentianus L. 45, 11th century, related to P and V.

NOTE. — This manuscript, together with two others — (Mb), 14th century and (Mc), 12th century — in the Laurentian Library in Florence, was collated by Ramorino (see *Rivista di Filologia*, 15 (1886–1887), p. 247 *seq.*).

(H) Harleianus, 2682, 11th century (formerly in the Cologne Cathedral Library, now in the British Museum), written in two different hands the first of which usually supports P, the second L.

NOTE. — This was collated by Clark (*Collations from the Harleian MS. of Cicero* 2682, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (year 1882), classical series I, pt. 7).

(Ad) Admontensis, 383 (in the Benedictine library at Admont in Styria), 12th century. This manuscript is related to Halm's BIS.

NOTE. — This was collated with Mueller's text by Petschenig (*Codex monasterii Admontensis* 383, *Wiener Studien*, *Jg.* 12, 1890, pp. 321–326).

Vat. Reg. Succ., 1762 (Hadoardus's collection of excerpts from Cicero including *Cato Maior* from §§ 2–82), 9th century.

NOTE. — This was published by Schwenke (*Der Presbyter Hadoardus Cicero-Excerpte nach E. Narducci's Abschrift des Cod. Vat. Reg.* 1762, *Philologus*, *Suppl.* 5, p. 551).

12. CRITICISM, INTERPRETATION, etc.

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C. H. de Groot, *Zur Handschriftenkunde des Cato Maior, Hermes*, Bd. 25, 1890, pp. 293–300.

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C. Knapp, *Notes on Cato Maior*, §§ 15, 28, 34, 38, *Class. Rev.*, 14, pp. 214–216.

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I. Mueller, Reid's *Cato Maior* and other editions reviewed, with emendations, *Bursian's Jahresbericht*, 126, 2, p. 122 *seq.*

A. Otto, *Die Interpolationen in Ciceros Cato Maior. Philologische Abhandlungen, Martin Hertz dargebracht.* Berlin, 1888. Pp. 94–104.

M. Petschenig, *Codex monasterii Admontensis* 383 *saec.* XII, *ad Ciceronis Catonem Maiorem et Lælium collatus cum editione C. F. W. Muelleri* (Lips. 1879), *Wiener Studien, Jg.* 12, 1890, pp. 321–326.

Fel. Ramorino, *Notizia di alcuni manoscritti italiani del Cato Maior e del Lælius di Cicerone, Rivista di Filologia*, Ann. 15, 1887, pp. 247–262.

Th. Schiche, *Ciceros philosophischen Schriften, Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin*, 29, p. 67 *seq.*

J. Schneider, *Das Platonische in* §§ 77 u. 78 *von Ciceros Cato Maior, Ztschr. f. d. Gym.*, 33, pp. 689–707.

H. Steuding, *Cato Maior* § 58, *Jahrbuecher f. Philologie*, 137, 1888, p. 862.

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J. Sommerbrodt, *Zu Ciceros Cato Maior, Fleckeisen's Neue Jahrbuecher*, 123, p. 139.

B. Dahl, *Zur Handschriftenkunde und Kritik des Ciceronischen Cato*

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13. RECENT EDITIONS OF THE CATO MAIOR

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Stickney, New York, 1887.
F. Ramorino, in the Hoepli series, Milan, 1893.
M. Schneidewin, Hamburg, 1893.
J. S. Reid, 2d ed., Cambridge, 1894.
Rockwood, New York, 1895.
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H. Anz, 2d ed., Gotha, 1897.
C. E. Bennett, Boston, 1897.
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A. Kornitzer, 3d ed., Vienna, 1903.
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O. Weiszenfels, Leipzig and Berlin, 1903.
H. Deiter, Hannover, 1904.
F. G. Moore, New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, 1904.
T. Schiche, 3d ed., Leipzig and Vienna, 1904.
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M. TULLI CICERONIS
CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE LIBER
AD T. POMPONIUM ATTICUM

I. 1 *O Tite, si quid ego adiuero curamve levasso,*
Quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,
Ecquid erit praemi?

Licet enim mihi versibus eisdem adfari te, Attice, quibus adfatur Flamininum

Ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei;

quamquam certo scio non, ut Flamininum,

Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctesque diesque;

novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. 2 Hoc enim onere, quod mihi commune tecum est, aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis et te et me etiam ipsum levari volo; etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter sicut omnia et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere, quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita iucunda huius libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnes absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem

etiam et iucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur digne satis laudari philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat, omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere. 3 Sed de ceteris et diximus multa et saepe dicemus; hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Ceus (parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula), sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet oratio; apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantes, quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare, quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, id tribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Iam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

II. 4 *Scipio.* Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime, quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est, ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.

Cato. Rem haud sane difficilem, Scipio et Laeli, admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est; qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, iis nihil potest malum videri, quod naturae necessitas adferat. Quo in genere est in primis senectus; quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adeptam; tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius, quam putassent. Primum quis coëgit eos falsum putare? qui enim citius adulescentiae senectus

quam pueritiae adulescentia obrepit? Deinde qui minus gravis esset iis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent quam si octogesimum? praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa cum effluxisset, nulla consolatio permulcere posset stultam senectutem. 5 Quocirca si sapientiam meam admirari soletis (quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine!), in hoc sumus sapientes, quod naturam optumam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus; a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene discriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poëta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum et tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferundum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?

6 *Laelius.* Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, volumus quidem certe senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus, quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.

Cato. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est.

Laelius. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris, quam nobis quoque ingrediundum sit, istuc, quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

III. 7 *Cato.* Faciam, ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim interfui querelis aequalium meorum (pares autem vetere proverbio cum paribus facillime congregantur), quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares nostri

fere aequales, deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum quod spernerentur ab iis, a quibus essent coli soliti. Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare, quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querela, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istius modi querelarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt, inportunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

8 *Laelius.* Est, ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere.

Cato. Est istud quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia. Ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum sua, sed patriae gloria splendorem adsecutum: *Nec hercule,* inquit, *si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses.* Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest. Nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest ne sapienti quidem nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis. 9 Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis (quamquam id quidem maximum est), verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio

iucundissima est. IV. 10 Ego Q. Maximum, eum qui Tarentum recepit, senem adulescens ita dilexi, ut aequalem; erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat; quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen iam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat, quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuveniliter exultantem patientia sua molliebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem.
Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.
Ergo plusque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

11 Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! cum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fuerat in arce, glorianti atque ita dicenti: *Mea opera, Q. Fabi, Tarentum recepisti: Certe*, inquit ridens, *nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam recepissem.* Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga; qui consul iterum Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente C. Flaminio tribuno plebis, quoad potuit, restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti; augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est *optimis auspiciis ea geri, quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur; quae contra rem publicam ferrentur, contra auspicia ferri.* 12 Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi; sed nihil admirabilius, quam quo modo ille mortem

filii tulit, clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo, quae praecepta, quanta notitia antiquitatis, scientia iuris augurii! Multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae; omnia memoria tenebat non domestica solum, sed etiam externa bella. Cuius sermone ita tum cupide fruebar, quasi iam divinarem, id quod evenit, illo extincto fore, unde discerem, neminem. V. 13 Quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo? Quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestres navalesve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus, qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum, qui Panathenaicus inscribitur, quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit vixitque quinquennium postea; cuius magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur, cur tam diu vellet esse in vita: *Nihil habeo*, inquit, *quod accusem senectutem*. Praeclarum responsum et docto homine dignum. 14 Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt; quod non faciebat is, cuius modo mentionem feci, Ennius:

Sicut fortis equos, spatio qui saepe supremo
Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam. Quem

quidem probe meminisse potestis; anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules, T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius, facti sunt, ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem. Sed annos septuaginta natus (tot enim vixit Ennius) ita ferebat duo, quae maxima putantur, onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur.

15 Etenim, cum conplector animo, quattuor reperio causas, cur senectus misera videatur, unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis, alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius, tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus, quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit iusta una quaeque, videamus.

VI. A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit. Quibus? an iis, quae iuventute geruntur et viribus? nullaene igitur res sunt seniles, quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus, nihil L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimi viri, filii mei? ceteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant? 16 Ad Appi Claudi senectutem accedebat etiam, ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa, quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
Antehac, dementis sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime; notum enim vobis carmen est; et tamen ipsius Appi extat oratio. Atque haec ille egit septimo decimo anno post alterum consulatum, cum inter

duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset; ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse; et tamen sic a patribus accepimus. 17 Nihil igitur adferunt, qui in re gerunda versari senectutem negant, similesque sunt, ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille autem clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi, non facit ea, quae iuvenes, at vero multo maiora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet. 18 Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor, cum bella non gero; at senatui, quae sint gerenda, praescribo, et quo modo Karthagini, male iam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio; de qua vereri non ante desinam, quam illam excisam esse cognovero. 19 Quam palmam utinam di inmortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi reliquias persequare! cuius a morte sextus hic et tricesimus annus est, sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, novem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? nec enim excursione nec saltu nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent senatum. 20 Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ii, qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quodsi

legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo, quí vestram rem públicam tantam ámisistis tám cito?

Sic enim percontantur in Naevi poëtae Ludo; respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

Provéniebant orátores novi, stulti adulescéntuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

VII. 21 At memoria minuitur. Credo, nisi eam exerceas, aut etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina; num igitur censetis eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset, Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi, qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos, nec sepulcra legens vereor, quod aiunt, ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audivi oblitum, quo loco thesaurum obruisset; omnia, quae curant, meminerunt, vadimonia constituta, quis sibi, cui ipsi debeant. 22 Quid iuris consulti? quid pontifices? quid augures? quid philosophi senes? quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria, neque ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit; quod propter studium cum rem neglegere familiarem videretur, a filiis in iudicium vocatus est, ut, quem ad modum nostro more male rem gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent iudices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam, quam in manibus habe-

bat et proxime scripserat, Oedipum Coloneum, recitasse iudicibus quaesisseque, num illud carmen desipientis videretur. Quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus. **23** Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum, Simonidem, Stesichorum, num, quos ante dixi, Isocraten, Gorgian, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocraten, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem aut eum, quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem Stoicum, coëgit in suis studiis obmutescere senectus? an in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis fuit? **24** Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiares meos, quibus absentibus numquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in aliis minus hoc mirum es; nemo enim est tam senex, qui se annum non putet posse vivere; sed idem in eis elaborant, quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:

Serit
Árborés, quae álterí saéculó prósiént,

ut ait Statius noster in Synephebis. **25** Nec vero dubitat agricola, quamvis sit senex, quaerenti, cui serat, respondere: *Dis inmortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere.* VIII. Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente quam illud idem:

Edepól, senectus, sí nil quícquam aliúd viti
Adpórtes tecum, quom ádvenis, unum íd sat est,
Quod díu vivendo múlta, quae non vólt, videt.

Et multa fortasse, quae volt! atque in ea, quae non volt,

saepe etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius:

Tum equidem in senecta hoc díputo misérrimum,
Sentíre ea aetate cúmpse esse odiosum álteri.

Iucundum potius quam odiosum. 26 Ut enim adulescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur leviorque fit senectus eorum, qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur; nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse iucundos. Sed videtis, ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet, quale cuiusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid? qui etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri, et ego feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici; quas quidem sic avide arripui quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud (discebant enim fidibus antiqui), sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

IX. 27 Nec nunc quidem vires desidero adulescentis (is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis), non plus, quam adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo decet uti et, quicquid agas, agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae? qui cum iam senex esset athletasque se exercentes in curriculo videret, aspexisse lacertos suos dicitur inlacrimansque dixisse: *At hi quidem mortui iam*

sunt. Non vero tam isti quam tu ipse, nugator! neque enim ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus iura civibus praescribebantur; quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia. 28 Orator metuo ne languescat senectute; est enim munus eius non ingenii solum, sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos; sed tamen est decorus senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque persaepe ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis cocta et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim est iucundius senectute stipata studiis iuventutis? 29 An ne illas quidem vires senectuti relinquimus, ut adulescentes doceat, instituat, ad omne officii munus instruat? quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero et Cn. et P. Scipiones et avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium iuvenum fortunati videbantur, nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ista ipsa defectio virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti. 30 Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone, quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam, quam adulescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini puer, qui cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum pontifex maximus factus esset, viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis esse

viribus extremo tempore aetatis. ut adulescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere, quamquam est id quidem senile aetatique nostrae conce- 365
ditur. X. 31 Videtisne, ut apud Homerum saepissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Iam enim tertiam aetatem hominum videbat, nec erat ei verendum, ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, *ex eius lingua melle* 370
dulcior fluebat oratio, quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus. Et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat, ut Aiacis similes habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris; quod si sibi acciderit, non dubitat, quin brevi sit Troia peritura. 32 Sed redeo ad me. Quartum ago annum et 375
octogesimum; vellem equidem idem possem gloriari, quod Cyrus, sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem iis esse viribus, quibus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim aut quadriennio post, cum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas M'. 380
Acilio Glabrione consule, sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit, non adflixit senectus, non curia vires meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim umquam sum adsensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet *mature fieri senem*, 385
si diu velis senex esse. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem quam esse senem, ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit, cui fuerim occupatus. 33 At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Ponti centurionis vires habetis; num idcirco est 390
ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit, et tantum, quantum potest quisque, nitatur; ne ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium in-

gressus esse Milo dicitur, cum humeris sustineret bovem. Utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis vires ingenii dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit, cum absit, ne requiras, nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paululum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis et una via naturae, eaque simplex, suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum et ferocitas iuvenum et gravitas iam constantis aetatis et senectutis maturitas naturale quiddam habeat, quod suo tempore percipi debeat. 34 Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere, cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere, nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci, ut capite operto sit, summam esse in eo siccitatem corporis, itaque omnia exequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Ne sint in senectute vires. Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo et legibus et institutis vacat aetas nostra muneribus iis, quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo, quod non possumus, sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur. 35 At multi ita sunt inbecilli senes, ut nullum officii aut omnino vitae munus exsequi possint. At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit inbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te adoptavit, quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud extitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sint aliquando, cum id

ne adulescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt; pugnandum tamquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem, habenda ratio valetudinis, utendum exercitationibus modicis, tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum, ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. 36 Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, extinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defatigatione ingravescunt, animi autem se exercendo levantur. Nam quos ait Caecilius *cómicos stultós senes*, hos significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos, quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somniculosae senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium. 37 Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex; intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat nec languescens succumbebat senectuti; tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos, metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant; vigebat in illa domo mos patrius et disciplina. 38 Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si ius suum retinet, si nemini emancipata est, si usque ad ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adulescentem, in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem, in quo est aliquid adulescentis, probo; quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit. Septimus mihi liber Originum est in manibus, omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo, causa-

rum inlustrium, quascumque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes, ius augurium, pontificium, civile tracto, multum etiam Graecis litteris utor Pythagoreorumque more exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Haec sunt exercitationes ingenii, haec curricula mentis, in his desudans atque elaborans corporis vires non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis, venio in senatum frequens ultroque adfero res multum et diu cogitatas easque tueor animi, non corporis viribus. Quas si exequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem, quae iam agere non possem; sed ut possim, facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate extinguitur.

XII. 39 Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, siquidem id aufert a nobis, quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adulescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est, cum essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo. Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis hominibus dicebat a natura datam, cuius voluptatis avidae libidines temere et effrenate ad potiendum incitarentur. 40 Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina colloquia nasci, nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis inpelleret, stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis inlecebris nisi

voluptatis; cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem. 41 Nec enim libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere animo iubebat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis, quanta percipi posset maxima; nemini censebat fore dubium, quin tam diu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum quam voluptatem, siquidem ea, cum maior esset atque longior, omne animi lumen extingueret. Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre eius, a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius, T. Veturius consules superati sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo, Ap. Claudio consulibus reperio. 42 Quorsus hoc? Ut intellegeretis, si voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam habendam esse senectuti gratiam, quae efficeret, ut id non liberet, quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas, rationi inimica est, mentis, ut ita dicam, praestringit oculos nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci, ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem, L. Flamininum, e senatu eicerem septem annis post, quam consul fuisset, sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim, cum esset consul in Gallia, exoratus in convivio a scorto est, ut securi feriret aliquem eorum, qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui

proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est; mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato coniungeret imperii de-
520 decus. XIII. **43** Saepe audivi ex maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea esse quendam Athenis, qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia, quae
525 faceremus, ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientes M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos, ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante
530 eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat; norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius; qui cum ex sua vita, tum ex eius, quem dico, Deci facto iudicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte peteretur, quodque spreta
535 et contempta voluptate optumus quisque sequeretur. **44** Quorsus igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magnopere desiderat. Caret epulis extructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis,
540 caret ergo etiam vinulentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam eius blanditiis non facile obsistimus (divine enim Plato *escam malorum* appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces), quamquam inmoderatis epulis caret
545 senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duellium M. f., qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur

cereo funali et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat; tantum licentiae dabat gloria. Sed quid ego alios? ad me ipsum iam revertar. **45** Primum habui semper sodales. Sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae sunt sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis. Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis; qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, *convivium* nominaverunt, melius quam Graeci, qui hoc idem tum *compotationem*, tum *concenationem* vocant, ut, quod in eo genere minimum est, id maxime probare videantur. XIV. **46** Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tempestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque vobiscum, habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quodsi quem etiam ista delectant (ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cuius est fortasse quidam naturalis modus), non intellego ne in istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus carere sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta et is sermo, qui more maiorum a summo adhibetur in poculo, et pocula, sicut in Symposio Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia et refrigeratio aestate et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus; quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo conviviumque vicinorum cotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem, quam maxime possumus, vario sermone producimus. **47** At non est voluptatum tanta quasi

titillatio in senibus. Credo, sed ne desideratio quidem; nihil autem est molestum, quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam adfecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus veneriis: *Di meliora!* inquit; *libenter vero istinc sicut ab domino agresti ac furioso profugi.* Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere, satiatis vero et expletis iucundius est carere quam frui. Quamquam non caret is, qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non desiderare dico esse iucundius. **48** Quodsi istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus, deinde iis, quibus senectus etiamsi non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur, qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam, qui in ultima, sic adulescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans tantum, quantum sat est. **49** At illa quanti sunt, animum tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionum, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium secum esse secumque, ut dicitur, vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam pabulum studii atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius. Vivere videbamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae C. Gallum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio; quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit, cum mane coepisset! quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere! **50** Quid in levioribus studiis, sed tamen acutis? quam gaudebat bello suo Punico Naevius! quam Truculento Plautus, quam Pseudolo! Vidi etiam senem Livium; qui cum sex annis ante, quam ego natus sum, fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque

consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licini Crassi et pontificii et civilis iuris studio loquar aut de huius P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est? Atque eos omnes, quos commemoravi, his studiis flagrantes senes vidimus; M. vero Cethegum, quem recte *Suadae medullam* dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae; quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem, qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse maior.

XV. 51 Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego incredibiliter delector; quae nec ulla impediuntur senectute et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium nec umquam sine usura reddit, quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum faenore. Quamquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat. Quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit, primum id occaecatum cohibet, ex quo occatio, quae hoc efficit, nominata est, dein tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem, quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adulescit culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi pubescens includitur; ex quibus cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum. 52 Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa

commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium, quae generantur e terra; quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet. Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines nonne efficiunt, ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem, quae natura caduca est et, nisi fulta est, fertur ad terram, eadem, ut se erigat, claviculis suis quasi manibus, quicquid est nacta, complectitur; quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico ferro amputans coërcet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis, et in omnes partes nimia fundatur. 53 Itaque ineunte vere in iis, quae relicta sunt, existit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea, quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva se ostendit, quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, dein maturata dulcescit vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret et nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius, tum aspectu pulchrius? Cuius quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat, adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea, quam dixi, aliorum amputatio, aliorum inmissio. Quid ego irrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior? 54 Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? dixi in eo libro, quem de rebus rusticis scripsi; de qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet. At Homerus, qui multis, ut mihi videtur, ante saeculis fuit, Laërtam lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem

facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis, tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agri cultura sollertius. XVI. 55 Possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum rusticarum, sed haec ipsa, quae dixi, sentio fuisse longiora. Ignoscetis autem; nam et studio rusticarum rerum provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphavisset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis. Cuius quidem ego villam contemplans (abest enim non longe a mea) admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis, qui haberent aurum, imperare. Poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem? 56 Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes, siquidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum; cuius dictatoris iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum adpetentem occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo, qui eos arcessebant, viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit, qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione, quam dixi, et saturitate copia-

que rerum omnium, quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent, ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam iam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni assiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est, abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Iam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervacaneis etiam operis aucupium atque venatio. 57 Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? brevi praecidam: Agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius; ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque adlectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius? 58 Sibi habeant igitur arma, sibi equos, sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus, nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras, id ipsum utrum lubebit, quoniam sine iis beata esse senectus potest. XVII. 59 Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt; quos legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agri cultura laudatur in eo libro, qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui Oeconomicus inscribitur! Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem, praestantem ingenio atque imperii gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis adtulisset, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum os-

tendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et directos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum, qui adflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse mirari se non modo diligentiam, sed etiam sollertiam eius, a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse: *Atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio, multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae.* Tum Lysandrum intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis dixisse: *Rite vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est.* 60 Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus, nec aetas impedit, quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum esset acta iam aetate in agris eosque coleret; cuius inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita, quantum spatium aetatis maiores ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque huius extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media, quod auctoritatis habebat plus, laboris minus; apex est autem senectutis auctoritas. 61 Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello, quanta in A. Atilio Calatino! in quem illud elogium:

Hunc unum plurimae consentiunt gentes
Populi primarium fuisse virum.

Notum est totum carmen incisum in sepulcro. Iure igitur gravis, cuius de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum, pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum, eodem sacerdotio praeditum,

vidimus! Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar aut, iam ante, de Maximo? quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus honorata praesertim tantam auctoritatem, ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adulescentiae voluptates. XVIII. 62 Sed † in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare, quae fundamentis adulescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur, id quod ego magno quondam cum assensu omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem, quae se oratione defenderet. Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt, sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. 63 Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia, quae videntur levia atque communia, salutari, adpeti, decedi, adsurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli; quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui legati cum essent, certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur et senem sessum recepisse. 64 Quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex iis quendam Athenienses scire, quae recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in vestro collegio praeclara, sed hoc, de quo agimus, in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet, neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed iis etiam, qui cum imperio

sunt, maiores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ii mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse.

65 At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes. Si quaerimus, etiam avari; sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia, quae dixi, habent aliquid excusationis non illius quidem iustae, sed quae probari posse videatur; contemni se putant, despici, inludi: praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est. Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus, idque cum in vita, tum in scaena intellegi potest ex iis fratribus, qui in Adelphis sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet: ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis natura vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, sed eam, sicut alia, modicam, acerbitatem nullo modo. 66 Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit, non intellego; potest enim quicquam esse absurdius quam, quo viae minus restet, eo plus viatici quaerere?

XIX. Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere atque sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, adpropinquatio mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse longe. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate non viderit! quae aut plane neglegenda est, si omnino extinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit, ubi sit futurus aeternus; atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest. 67 Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem aut beatus etiam

futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo plures quam nostra casus mortis habet; facilius in morbos incidunt adulescentes, gravius aegrotant, tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem; quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur. Mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est; qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates fuissent. Sed redeo ad mortem inpendentem. Quod est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei videatis cum adulescentia esse commune? 68 Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu in expectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem. At sperat adulescens diu se victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest. Insipienter sperat. Quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? At senex ne quod speret quidem habet. At est eo meliore condicione quam adulescens, cum id, quod ille sperat, hic consecutus est; ille vult diu vivere, hic diu vixit. 69 Quamquam, o di boni! quid est in hominis natura diu? Da enim supremum tempus, expectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem (fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus, qui octoginta regnavit annos, centum viginti vixit) — sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur, in quo est aliquid extremum. Cum enim id advenit, tum illud, quod praeteriit, effluxit; tantum remanet, quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis; horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur, nec, quid sequatur, sciri potest; quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus. 70 Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda fabula est, modo, in quo-

cumque fuerit actu, probetur, neque sapienti usque ad 'Plaudite' veniendum est. Breve enim tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum; sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est, quam agricolae dolent praeterita verni temporis suavitate aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adulescentiam significat ostenditque fructus futuros, reliqua autem tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. 71 Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem, quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? quod idem contingit adulescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic, ut cum sua sponte nulla adhibita vi consumptus ignis extinguitur; et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas; quae quidem mihi tam iucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus. XX. 72 Senectutis autem nullus est certus terminus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus officii exsequi et tueri possis mortemque contemnere; ex quo fit, ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adulescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, cum illi quaerenti, qua tandem re fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur: *Senectute.* Sed vivendi est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem, quae coagmentavit, natura dissolvit. Ut

navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime, qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime, quae conglutinavit, natura dissolvit. Iam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit, ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avide adpetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit; (73) vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. Solonis quidem sapientis elogium est, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Volt, credo, se esse carum suis; sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

Nemo me dacrumis decoret neque funera fletu
Faxit.

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam inmortalitas consequatur. 74 Iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim seni, post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adulescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus, sine qua meditatione tranquillo animo esse nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est, et incertum an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis inpendentem timens qui poterit animo consistere? De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, cum recorder non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria est interfectus, (75) non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt, non M. Atilium, qui ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hosti datam conservaret, non duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt, non avum tuum L. Paulum, qui morte luit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem, non M. Marcellum, cuius interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus

in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se redituras numquam arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adulescentes, et ii quidem non solum indocti, sed etiam rustici, contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent? 76 Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, studiorum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa; num igitur ea desiderant adulescentes? sunt ineuntis adulescentiae; num ea constans iam requirit aetas, quae media dicitur? sunt etiam eius aetatis; ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senectute; sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis; ergo, ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis; quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis adfert. XXI. 77 Equidem non video, cur, quid ipse sentiam de morte, non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, tuum, Scipio, tuumque, Laeli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos, vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam, quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam, dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur; est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium. Sed credo deos inmortales sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent, qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit, ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas. 78 Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse, quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus.

Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea, quae Socrates supremo vitae die de inmortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis iudicatus. Quid multa? sic persuasi mihi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam, quae res eas contineat, esse mortalem, cumque semper agitetur animus nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus, et, cum simplex animi esset natura neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi; quod si non posset, non posse interire; magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante, quam nati sint, quod iam pueri, cum artes difficiles discant, ita celeriter res innumerabiles arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Haec Platonis fere. XXII. 79 Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus maior haec dicit: *Nolite arbitrari, o mihi carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim, dum eram vobiscum, animum meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex iis rebus, quas gerebam, intellegebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiamsi nullum videbitis.* 80 *Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem numquam persuaderi potuit animos, dum in corporibus essent mortalibus, vivere, cum excessissent ex eis, emori, nec vero tum animum esse insipientem, cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset, sed cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapi-*

entem. Atque etiam cum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quaeque discedat; abeunt enim illuc omnia, unde orta sunt, animus autem solus, nec cum adest nec cum discessit, apparet. 81 *Iam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum. Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem suam; multa enim, cum remissi et liberi sunt, futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intellegitur, quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporum vinculis relaxaverint. Quare, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote,* inquit, *ut deum; sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis.*

Cyrus quidem haec moriens; nos, si placet, nostra videamus. XXIII. 82 Nemo umquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paulum aut duos avos, Paulum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patruum aut multos praestantes viros, quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos, quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad se ipsos pertinere. An censes, ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier, me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam, quibus vitam, essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam aetatem et quietam sine ullo aut labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi, cum excessisset e vita, tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi inmortales essent haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime ad inmortalitatem et gloriam niteretur. 83 Quid? quod sapientissimus quis-

que aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo, nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci, ille autem, cuius obtusior sit acies, non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi, neque vero eos solos convenire aveo, quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam, de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit nec tamquam Peliam recoxerit. Et si quis deus mihi largiatur, ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem nec vero velim quasi decurso spatio ad carceres a calce revocari. **84** Quid habet enim vita commodi? quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane, habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non lubet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi, et ii docti, saepe fecerunt, neque me vixisse paenitet, quoniam ita vixi, ut non frustra me natum existumem, et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo. Commorandi enim natura devorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit. O praeclarum diem, cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar cumque ex hac turba et conluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros, de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior; cuius a me corpus est crematum, quod contra decuit, ab illo meum, animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar existumans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore. **85** His mihi rebus, Scipio, (id enim te cum Laelio admirari

solere dixisti) levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta, sed etiam iucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum inmortales esse credam, libenter erro nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo, extorqueri volo; sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor, ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui irrideant. Quodsi non sumus inmortales futuri, tamen extingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defatigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

Haec habui, de senectute quae dicerem; ad quam utinam perveniatis! ut ea, quae ex me audistis, re experti probare possitis.

Occasional references are made to the grammars of Gildersleeve (G.); Allen and Greenough (A. & G.); Bennett (B.); Harkness (H.); and Lane (L.).

COMMENTARY

CHAPTER I

§ 1. 1. **O Tite:** these hexameter verses are quoted from the *Annales* of Ennius (Bk. 10, Vahlen's edition; Bk. 11, Müller's). The allusion is to an incident in early Roman history. In 198 B. C. the consul Titus Quinctius Flaminius, who had undertaken the direction of the campaign against Philip of Macedon, encountered much embarrassment on landing in Epirus, on account of the rough mountainous character of the country. After wasting much valuable time in a futile effort to force Philip's army from a mountain pass in which it was entrenched, the Roman consul at length received an offer of help from Charopus, an Epirote chief, who placed at his disposal a native shepherd to act as guide. The shepherd wishes to know what is to be his reward if he conducts the Roman army to a commanding height from which Philip's army may be dislodged. (Cf. Livy, 32, 11.) Cicero here adopts the shepherd's words, cleverly applying them to his lifelong friend, Titus Pomponius Atticus, to whom he dedicates the *Cato Maior*. **si quid ego adiuero:** "if I help you at all"; *quid* is used to define or modify the substantive notion implied in *adĭŭero* (cf. G. 333); *adĭŭero* is an archaic form (sigmatic aorist) for the regular *adiūvero*, with the shortened *u* before a vowel after the loss of *v*. **levasso:** an archaic future perfect, equivalent to the regular *levavero*. G. 131, 4, (*b*) 1.

2. **coquit:** "vex, harass" — a figurative sense which was confined to poetry in Cicero's time. **versat:** with the original quantity of the termination, *-āt* (cf. *ponebāt*, l. 133), which even in Ennius's day was tending to become short. A few sporadic cases of the original quantity of the termination occur in classic Latin.

3. **praemi:** stems in *-io* have the Gen. Sing. for the most part in *-i* until the first century A. D., without change of accent. — G. 33, R. 1.

4. **licet enim:** "for I may"; *enim* is elliptical in explanation of the unusual manner in which Atticus is here addressed. **versibus . . . eisdem:** "in the very same lines"; *eisdem* is especially emphatic, as indicated by its unusual position after the substantive. The verses are from Ennius's *Annales* (Vahlen's ed., Bk. 10; Müller's ed., Bk. 11).

6. **Ille vir:** i. e., the shepherd mentioned in note on l. 1. **magna**

cum re: *re* here has the force of *re familiari*, "property." Cf. *Pro Caelio*, 78, *hominem sine re.* **plenus fidēī:** a form of the Gen. with the original quantity (*-ēī*), which occurs frequently in early Latin. The *e* in this termination was later shortened (*-ĕi*). The termination *s* (in *plenus*) was so slightly sounded that here, as often, it failed to "make quantity."

7. **quamquam:** corrective 'and yet,' 'however.' Cf. l. 114, *quamquam id quidem maximum est;* l. 120, *Quamquam eum colere coepi*, etc. The Greek equivalent is καίτοι.

9. **moderationem animi tui et aequitatem:** "self-control and poise." Cf. Horace, *Car.* 2, 3, 31, *Aequam memento rebus in arduis Servare mentem.*

10. **cognomen:** viz., Atticus, which was the surname given Pomponius in recognition of his familiarity with Greek literature acquired during his twenty-two years' residence in Athens. Cognomen is the additional name bestowed upon a Roman citizen in token of some personal characteristic, as "*Cunctator*," "*Sapiens*," or of some foreign conquest, as "Africanus," or of some foreign residence, as "Atticus." **humanitatem et prudentiam:** "refinement and common sense." Cf. Nepos, *Atticus*, 3, 3.

12. **eisdem rebus:** the reference is to the existing condition of affairs, i. e., the unlimited power of Cæsar which pointed to the destruction of republican institutions and liberty. **me ipsum:** = *ego ipse*, with which supply *commoveor*. For the sake of balance Cicero wrote *me ipsum*, with which supply *suspicor*.

13. **quarum consolatio:** an allusion to the political situation when Cæsar was threatening to usurp supreme authority and blot out the Republic. The wise man must yield to the decrees of fate, Cicero seems to imply. *Quarum* is Objective Genitive. **maior:** a more laborious undertaking than Cicero now has time for. See Introduction on date of composition.

14. **visum mihi est:** "I have resolved."

15. **aliquid ad te conscribere:** "write you some treatise." This introductory section passes as the dedication of the *Cato Maior* to Atticus. Cf. *Laelius*, § 4, *ut de amicitia scriberem aliquid.*

§ 2. 16. **aut iam . . . aut certe:** "either already . . . or at any rate" — common in Cicero. Cf. L. 1669.

17. **senectutis:** a rather elastic term. Cicero was now 62 years old and Atticus 65.

18. **etsi:** corrective like *quamquam* above; see note on l. 7. **te quidem:** "you at any rate"; *quidem* is employed for emphasis. Thus Cicero places Atticus in sharp contrast with himself, implying that, however he may bear old age, Atticus at all events will bear it philosophically. **modice ac sapienter:** *modice* suggests *moderationem*

in the phrase above and *sapienter* suggests *aequitatem*, inasmuch as self-control and an even balance of mind were the result of *sapientia*. Cf. *De Orat.* 1, 132, *modice et scienter*.

19. **Sed mihi . . . tu occurrebas:** there is a slight ellipsis in the thought as if Cicero intended to say, "But though I know full well that you do not stand in need of such consolation, still I have determined to dedicate my book on Old Age to you." Translate: "But it occurred to me that you were worthy," etc.

20. **eo munere:** i. e., the essay on Old Age, in reference to the idea involved in *ad te conscribere* above.

21. **quo . . . uteretur:** "a gift which both of us may enjoy in common"; Subjunctive of purpose. It was a pleasure to Cicero to write the essay, and it will be a pleasure likewise to his friend Atticus to peruse it. **Mihi quidem:** emphatic, — "to me at all events." Cf. *te quidem* above.

22. **libri:** i. e., the essay on Old Age. **confectio:** "the composition." Cf. *De Orat.* 2, 52, *annalium confectio*.

23. **absterserit:** exceptional sequence denoting final result, as also in *effecerit*. (G. 513.) Cicero elsewhere says in reference to this work, *Legendus mihi saepe est Cato maior ad te missus. A mariorem enim me senectus facit. stomachor omnia* (*Ad Att.* 14, 21, 3). **effecerit mollem etiam . . . senectutem:** "has rendered old age even a comfort and a delight." Cf. l. 689, *Poteratne tantus animus non efficere iucundam senectutem*, etc.

24. **digne satis laudari:** "can never be praised as it deserves." Cicero never tires of sounding the praises of philosophy to which theme exclusively he devoted his famous work, the lost *Hortensius*.

25. **cui qui:** = **cum qui ei,** "since he who follows it," i. e., philosophy. Such a juxtaposition is common enough in Latin, though contrary to our English idiom. **possit:** subjunctive of characteristic, and *pareat*, which is subordinate to *possit*, is subjunctive by attraction. See G. 663; A. & G. 593; L. 1728; B. 324.

§ 3. 27. **ceteris:** = *de ceteris rebus:* neuter substantival use of the adjective, in reference to Cicero's philosophical discussions in his *De Natura Deorum* and his *Tusculan Disputations*. Cicero regularly uses an adjective in agreement with *res* in such instances except in the nominative and accusative cases. Cf. l. 286, *in aliis*. **diximus . . . dicemus:** note the reversal of the order (chiasmus). **hunc librum:** in sharp contrast with the works included in *ceteris*.

28. **misimus:** epistolary perfect, with the editorial "we." **omnem . . . sermonem:** i. e., the entire dialogue in which Cato is the chief speaker.

29. **Tithono:** "The son of Laomedon and Strymo, and brother of Priam. By the prayers of Eos, who loved him, he obtained from the

gods immortality, but not eternal youth, in consequence of which he completely shrank together in his old age: whence a decrepit old man was called Tithonus. Eos changed him into a cicada, or katydid." — Harper's *Dict. of Class. Lit. and Antiq.* (Cf. Tennyson's beautiful poem, *Tithonus.*) **Aristo Ceus:** Aristo of Ceos was a peripatetic philosopher who succeeded Lycon as head of that school about 230 B. C. Among other things he wrote a treatise on Old Age which has perished. Only fragments of his writings have survived. For Cicero's estimate of him, see *De Fin.* 5, 5, 13. (He is not to be confounded with Aristo of Chios, the Stoic, who flourished about 270 B. C.)

30. **fabula:** "myth," i.e., mythical characters. **M. Catoni seni:** Cato the Elder (234–149 B. C.). See Introduction, 5. *Seni* distinguishes this Cato from his great-grandson Cato of Utica, a contemporary of Cicero.

31. **maiorem auctoritatem:** cf. *Laelius*, § 4, *Sed ut in Catone maiore qui est scriptus ad te de senectute Catonem induxi senem disputantem quia nulla videbatur aptior persona quae de illa aetate loqueretur*, etc. **apud quem:** "at whose house." **Laelium et Scipionem:** see Introduction, 7. Laelius and Scipio take really a very slight part in the discussion, the *Cato Maior* being only a nominal dialogue.

32. **facimus admirantes:** "I portray as expressing their admiration." This use of *facere* in the sense "to represent" is quite common. Cf. l. 669, *At Homerus . . . facit.*

34. **eruditius:** in reference to his familiarity with Greek philosophy.

35. **suis libris:** for the life of Cato see Introduction, 5. The only work of Cato which has been preserved is the *De Agri Cultura*. This exhibits no special literary excellence. Hence Cicero's apologetic tone for Cato's elaborate discussion of old age. **litteris Graecis:** cf. 26, *qui litteras Graecas senex didici.*

37. **plura:** sc. *dicere*, or some other verb of saying. Cf. l. 953, *Quid multa?*

CHAPTER II

§ 4. 39. **saepe numero:** "very often"; *numero* ("by the count") serves to strengthen *saepe*. The two words are often written together, *saepenumero*. **cum . . . tum:** "both . . . and." **hoc:** "my friend . . . here," perhaps with a wave of the hand.

40. **ceterarum rerum:** "in all other matters"; Objective Gen. Cf. 1, *quarum consolatio.*

41. **vel maxime:** *vel* is here intensive, "especially." **quod senserim:** subjunctive of partial obliquity since *admirari*, upon which the *quod*-clause depends, is here regarded as equivalent to a verb of saying. Of course, the indicative is the rule in a causal clause

expressing the reason of the speaker. Cf. l. 32, *admirantes quod . . . ferat;* also § 7.

43. **Aetna gravius:** a proverbial expression containing an allusion to Enceladus, who, according to a well-known legend, was imprisoned under Ætna after the defeat of the Giants by Jupiter. Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 3, 554 fol. and the Greek proverb, βαρύτερον Αἴτνας. See Euripides, *Herc. Fur.* 637 fol. and Longfellow's poem *Enceladus.*

45. **rem haud sane . . . admirari videmini:** "it is surely by no means a difficult thing which you seem to wonder at." Cf. l. 1019, *haud sane facile.*

46. **Quibus enim,** etc.: "for to those who have no resource in themselves"; — Dat. of possession. Cf. *Lael.* § 79, *quibus in ipsis.* **in ipsis:** the allusion is to the Stoic doctrine that the wise man does not condition happiness on things outside himself and that virtue alone is guaranty for a happy life. See *Lael.* § 7.

48. **a se ipsi:** the intensive, as usual, agrees with the subject, not with the reflexive. Cf. l. 958, *se ipse moveat . . . se ipse sit relicturus;* also l. 1040, *me ipse consolabar.*

50. **est in primis:** "belongs especially." For *in primis* we often find *imprimis.*

51. **adeptam:** here passive. Cf. l. 739, *dimensa;* also l. 903, *meditatum.* Note the chiasmus.

52. **inconstantia:** by contrast suggests *constantia,* which is a characteristic of the wise man. Cf. *Lael.* § 8, and also § 64. **aiunt:** sc. *stulti.*

53. **putassent:** subjunctive of partial obliquity, representing a pluperfect Indic. (*putaveram*) in direct discourse. **Primum:** cf. the following *Deinde,* both in answer to the objection which is first shown to be false and then refuted.

54. **falsum putare:** "to entertain a mistaken notion"; *falsum* is a neuter substantive. **qui:** "how." *Qui* was originally an instrumental or an ablative and later became adverbial (cf. *quicum* equivalent to *quocum*). See G. 105, N. 3; 106, N. 2. **adulescentiae:** *adulescentia* is here loosely employed to denote the period from boyhood (*pueritia*) to old age (*senectus*). Strictly, *adulescentia* denotes the period from 17 to 30, while *iuventus* denotes that from 30 to 45, and *aetas seniorum* that from 45 to 60 and *senectus* that from 60 to the end of life.

58. **quamvis:** = *quamtumvis,* "however." The idea is, "for a past time, however long it might be, when once it is gone by, could not possibly bring any consolation for the foolish old age of this class of men." **cum effluxisset:** subjunctive by attraction after *posset,* and *posset* is the apodosis of an unreal condition the protasis of which is implied in *quamvis longa.*

§ 5. 60. **utinam digna esset:** "would it were worthy, as it is not":

— optative subjunctive implying that the speaker disclaims a pretension to his cognomen, "the wise," which he bore even in his lifetime.

61. cognomine: i. e., *Sapiens.* **in hoc summus sapientes:** emphatic and explained by the following *quod*-clause. There is a slight ellipsis here.

62. naturam optimam ducem sequimur: a cardinal doctrine of the Stoic system, which Cicero here makes Cato express. Cato was noted for his practical wisdom and common sense rather than for any profound knowledge of philosophy. See *Laelius*, § 6 and also § 19.

63. cum ceterae partes . . . sint: "seeing that all the other parts of life have been admirably allotted"; *partes* usually signifies "rôle," but here rather "parts," perhaps to avoid repetition of *actus*. Cf. l. 800, *in extremo actu*; also l. 1052. **discriptae:** distinguish between *discriptae*, "planned," "mapped out," and *descriptae*, "composed."

64. actum: the regular word for "act" of a play, whereas *actio* corresponds to "scene." See *Ad Fam.* 5, 12, 6.

65. inerti: "inartistic," "unskilful," "awkward" (*in* + *ars*).

68. quasi vietum et caducum: a circumlocution for the wanting abstract terms of the Latin; *quasi* here, as often, is apologetic, explained by the bold use of *vietus* as applied to old age. *Vietus* (*viere*) = "bent together," "shriveled," "shrunken," is especially used of wrinkled, shriveled fruit. Cf. Ter., *Eun.* 688, *vietus vetus veternosus senex;* Hor., *Epod.* 12, 7, *Qui sudor vietis . . . membris.*

69. Quid est enim: "for what else is the battle of the giants against the gods but fighting against nature?" This is the interpretation of Nauck and Bennett, which seems more satisfactory than the usual interpretation (see Crit. App.). Cf. *De Div.* 2, 78, *Quid est aliud nolle moneri a Jove nisi efficere ut aut ne fieri possit auspicium aut, si fiat, videri;* also *Pro Rosc.* 54, and *Phil.* 1, 22; 2, 7; 5, 5; 10, 5. For the allusion to the battle of the giants, see Harper's *Dict. of Class. Lit. and Antiq.*

§ 6. 71. Atqui: "but nevertheless"; i. e., granting that Cato's statements are true, still Lælius wishes to learn how to bear the increasing burden of old age. **gratissimum . . . feceris:** "you will do us a great favor." The future perfect tense (cf. *didicerimus* below) is regular in the polite conversational formula *gratissimum* (*gratum*) *feceris, si . . .* Cf. *Lael.* § 16, *pergratum feceris, si disputaris;* also *Rep.* 1, 34. **ut . . . pollicear:** "to speak for Scipio also," as well as for myself. Cf. *Brut.* 122, *nobis vero placet, ut pro Bruto etiam respondeam; Academ.* 1, 33, *nos vero volumus ut pro Attico respondeam.*

73. fieri: if the infinitive had depended upon *speramus*, it would regularly have been future (*nos futuros esse senes*); but *volumus*, which is added to correct *speramus*, determines the construction of the infinitive (*fieri*).

74. rationibus: "means."

77. futurum est: note the force of *est* (not *erit*) representing the matter on the point of fulfilment — "if it is going to be a pleasure to you." The future (*erit*) would have put the matter in the future and made it less certain of fulfilment.

78. Volumus sane: "we certainly do desire." **nisi molestum est:** a familiar expression of courtesy, like *sodes* (*si audes*), *si placet*, etc. **tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris:** the thought here suggests comparison with Plato, *Rep.* I, 328 E, which passage Cicero must have had in mind. However, in that passage Socrates inquires about the character of the road leading to old age, whereas Cicero draws attention to the destination only.

79. quam . . . ingrediendum est: "which we too must enter upon." This archaic impersonal use of the periphrastic conjugation with a direct object occurs only in one other passage in Cicero (*Pro Scauro* 13, *oblivescendum vobis putatis matrum in liberos virorum in uxores scelera?*). The suggestion of some editors that Cicero used this construction in imitation of the archaic style of Cato seems wholly gratuitous since the construction does not occur once in the extant writings of Cato. The construction does, however, occur in Lucretius and in Varro (for a full list of examples see Roby's Latin Gram., Pref. to Vol. 2, p. lxxii).

80. istuc . . . videre quale sit: a familiar form of the indirect question characteristic of the conversational style. See G. 468.

CHAPTER III

§ 7. 82. ut potero: note the future where the English idiom requires the present — "as well as I can." Cf. *Rep.* 1, 38, *hic Scipio, faciam quod roltis ut potero.* **Saepe enim:** *enim* introduces the reason for *faciam*, not for *ut potero.*

83. pares cum paribus congregantur: this proverb can be traced back to Homer at least. — *Odyss.* 17, 218, *ὡς αἰεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ὡς τὸν ὁμοῖον.* A Latin variant is *similes similibus coniugi solent, similibus similia gaudent.* The German runs, *Gleich und Gleich gesellt sich gern;* and the French, *Qui se ressemble s'assemble*, with which compare the English, "Birds of a feather flock together."

84. quae . . . deplorare solebant: a repetition of the thought expressed in *Saepe querellis aequalium* and repeated because of the intervening parenthesis. *Quae* is accusative of the inner object. See G. 333, 1, N. 2; B. 176, 2; L. 1144; A. & G. 390, *c.*

85. C. Salinator: C. Livius Salinator (230–170 B. C.) was prætor 191 B. C. and consul 188. He was commissioned to superintend the equipment of the Roman fleet during the war against Antiochus.

Sp. Albinus: Sp. Postumius Albinus was consul 186 B. C. and with his colleague was appointed to investigate the Bacchanalian conspiracy of that year (see Livy. 39, 1). He died 180 B. C.

86. tum . . . tum: "at one time . . . at another." Cf. l. 559, *qui hoc idem tum compotationem, tum concenationem vocant.*

87. sine quibus . . . putarent: "without which they thought, as they said, that life was not life at all"; — subjunctive of partial obliquity. **vitam nullam:** cf. *Ad Fam.* 7, 1, 4, *hoc tempore vita nullast;* Ter., *Phorm.* 942, *Nullus sum.*

88. essent . . . soliti: subjunctive by attraction. **Qui:** = *sed hi,* adversative asyndeton.

89. quod esset accusandum: subjunctive of partial obliquity, equivalent to a subordinate clause in indirect discourse.

90. usu venirent: "would come by experience," "would happen."

91. quorum: depends upon *multorum* from which it is separated just as *multorum* is separated from *senectutem.*

92. sine querela: a prepositional phrase used as an attribute of *senectutem.* Cf. l. 282, *ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos;* also l. 481, *cum hostibus clandestina colloquia* **qui se et . . . ferrent:** "who were men of such character as not to regret"; *se . . . laxatos esse* is the object of *ferrent.*

93. non moleste: understatement (litotes). But for this Cicero would probably have written *nec* instead of *et . . . non.*

95. Moderati: "men of self-control." **difficiles:** morose, surly, hard to please.

96. inhumani: "churlish," lacking in culture (*humanitas*).

97. importunitas . . . inhumanitas: these two abstract substantives correspond to the adjectives *difficiles* and *inhumani* respectively. The author uses no abstract term to repeat the thought involved in *moderati.* **omni aetati molesta:** "a source of annoyance to every period of life."

§ 8. **98. dixerit quispiam:** an ideal objection, hence potential Subjunctive (G. 257, 1).

99. opes et copias: "resources and wealth"; *opes* is more comprehensive than *copias* and connotes "influence," whether political or social. **dignitatem:** "high social rank."

100. id . . . contingere: "such fortune cannot at any rate fall to the lot of many."

103. isto: note the use of this neuter pronoun as a substantive. **Themistocles:** the celebrated Athenian statesman and general (the rival of Aristides) who conquered the Persians at the naval battle of Salamis, 480 B. C. He was banished in 471 and spent the remainder of his days in Persia and Asia Minor, dying about 460 B. C. **fertur:** the story is variously told. Cicero here follows the version of

Plato (*Republic* I, 329 E). Herodotus (viii, 125) gives another version. **Seriphio cuidam:** Seriphos was a small rock-bound island of the Cyclades group which became a by-word for insignificance. Cf. *Nat. Deor.* 1, 88.

104. **ille:** refers to *Seriphio cuidam.*

107. **Quod:** refers to the lesson of the story just told.

108. **nec . . . levis . . . nec . . . non gravis:** note the chiasmus. On the thought see Plato, *Rep.* 330 A.

109. **ne . . . quidem:** here, as often, simply repeats the negative idea. See G. 445; B. 347, 2; A. & G. 327; H. 656, 2.

§ 9. 110. **Aptissima omnino . . . arma:** "by all means the most suitable weapons for old age."

111. **senectutis:** Gen. of possession. **artes exercitationesque virtutum:** "the principle and the practice of virtues." Some editors interpret *artes* as *liberales artes* ("liberal arts"). Observe the concrete effect of pluralizing the abstract term *exercitationes.*

112. **cum diu multumque vixeris:** "when you have lived a long and fruitful life"; — *vixeris* is potential subjunctive of the ideal second person. Cf. l. 327, *quicquid agas;* also: l. 880, *quoad munus offici exsequi et tueri possis.*

113. **ecferunt:** archaic form for *efferunt*, rarely employed even in Cicero's time. See Neue, *Formlehre der Lat. Sprache*, 3rd ed., 2, p. 870.

114. **deserunt:** the absolute use without an object, which is rather unusual.

115. **conscientia bene actae vitae:** "the consciousness of a life well spent." **bene factorum:** substantival use, as often,—"good deeds."

CHAPTER IV

§ 10. 117. **Q. Maximus:** the hero of the Second Punic War, who from his policy of avoiding a pitched battle with Hannibal, the Carthaginian general, was surnamed "*Cunctator*" (217 B. C.). His full name was Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Ovicula Cunctator. He was repeatedly elected consul (233, 228, 215, 214, and 209 B. C.), was censor in 230 and dictator in 217 B. C. and died 203 B. C.

118. **Tarentum recepit:** Tarentum was lost to Hannibal by the Romans in 212 B. C., but recovered by Fabius — his crowning achievement — in 209 B. C. (Livy, 27, 15-16). **senem adulescens:** note the striking juxtaposition of these contrasted words, a rhetorical device quite common in Latin.

119. **condita:** "seasoned," "tempered" (*condīta*, not *condĭta*).

120. **quamquam:** corrective. See note on l. 7. **non admodum grandem:** "when not so very old."

122. **Anno:** "a year after"; i. e., in the year 233 B. C. Cf. l. 231, *Anno ante me censorem mortuus est.*

123. **quartum consule:** "consul for the fourth time." The date is 214 B. C. **adulescentulus:** "when quite a young man." Cato was 20 years old at the time.

124. **miles:** "as a private soldier"; predicative attribution. **ad Capuam:** Capua was then in the hands of the enemy, and so Fabius could go into the neighborhood of the city only (hence *ad*).

126. **quem magistratum:** "an office which"; incorporation of the antecedent into the relative clause. The date of Cato's quæstorship is 204 B. C.

127. **cum quidem:** = *tum quidem cum*, "at the very time when"; the indicative here indicates the point of time (cf. G. 580, 582; B. 288, 2; A. & G. 545, *a*; L. 1868). **suasor:** used to denote one who publicly supports a bill or measure, whereas one who speaks against it is technically called *dissuasor*. **legis Cinciae:** so called because the tribune M. Cincius Alimentus, brother of the historian L. Cincius Alimentus, was the patron of the bill. The law which was passed in 204 B. C. prohibited advocates from receiving fees for professional services. Certain restrictions were also placed on gifts of property by private persons. The purpose of the law was to prevent the rich from exacting tribute under the guise of gifts from the poorer classes (see Cato's speech quoted in Livy, 34, 4, 9).

129. **plane grandis:** sc. *natu*, "quite old." Fabius died the following year (203 B. C.). **iuvenaliter:** Hannibal's young manhood is here contrasted with Fabius's advanced age (*plane grandis*). When Hannibal entered Italy in 218 B. C., he was 29 years old; and he was therefore only 32 at the time here referred to (215).

130. **patientia:** stronger than our "patience" and equivalent to "persistence," "endurance."

131. **praeclare:** sc. *dicit*. Such omission before a quotation, especially a quotation from a poet, is quite common in Latin. **familiaris noster:** "my friend"; *nostra* for *meus*. **Ennius:** see Introduction.

132. **Unus homo**, etc.: well-known lines in reference to Q. Fabius Maximus from Ennius's *Annales* (Vahlen's ed., 12, 370; Müller's ed., 8, 286), the first of which attained the currency of a proverb. Cf. *De Off.* 1, 84; *Ad Att.* 2, 19, 2; Liv. 30, 26; Verg., *Aen.* 6, 846; Ovid, *Fasti* 2, 241; Sueton., *Tib.* 21. See Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer*, p. 101. **cunctando:** the year after the overwhelming defeat at Cannæ, when Fabius entered upon his second command, he adopted his famous policy of delay. The Roman fortunes were then at a very low ebb, but under Fabius's command a change for the

better soon took place. See Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, III, Chap. 5. **rem:** = *rem publicam*.

133. **Noenum:** an archaic negative, "not." The etymology of *noenum* is not clear. Some explain it as compounded of *nō* (a by-form of *nē*) and the asseverative *-ne* (cf. the Plautine *Tunc*). Other etymologies have also been suggested. See Crit. Appendix. **rumores:** in reference to the reports current that Fabius avoided a pitched battle with Hannibal from sheer cowardice. **ponebat:** note the original long vowel of the termination (*-bāt*). Cf. l. 2, *versât*.

134. **plusque magisque:** the usual distinction between *plus* and *magis* as a comparative formation and with verbs is that *plus* intensifies the significance and *magis* widens the extent of application. But Ennius probably did not observe any such distinction and simply used both together for cumulative effect. **claret:** poetic and rare, according to Lexicon.

§ 11. 135. **Tarentum:** especially emphatic, as indicated by position.

136. **Salinatori:** Cicero appears to be in error here. It was Titus Livius Macatus, according to Livy, 27, 34, 7, who lost Tarentum, not his kinsman Titus Livius Salinator. (The same error also occurs in *De Orat.* II, 273. On the confusion see K. Allen's article in *American Journal of Philology*, 19, 437.) M. Livius Macatus defended Tarentum from 214 to 212 B. C. and held the citadel from 212 to 209 when Fabius Maximus recovered the city. M. Livius Salinator was consul in 219 B. C. and conquered the Illyrians, but was later forced to go into exile because of misappropriation of public funds. In 210 B. C. the senate permitted him to return, and three years later he was elected consul and defeated Hasdrubal in the battle of the Metaurus. In 204 he was censor and imposed a tax on salt, in consequence of which the surname Salinator was given in ridicule.

137. **Mea opera:** with special emphasis on *mea*, "through my aid."

140. **praestantior:** sc. *erat*. **toga:** "civil life," "peace times." In war times the *sagum* (the military cloak) replaced the *toga*. Cf. *De Orat.* 3, 167, *togam pro pace, arma ac tela pro bello*. **consul iterum:** "when consul a second time." The reference is to the year 228 B. C., when Fabius was consul. But Flaminius was tribune, not consul in the year 232 B. C., according to Polybius (2, 21, 7). Cicero therefore errs here in making these men colleagues in the year 232 B. C. **Sp. Carvilio:** Sp. Carvilius Maximus was twice consul, first in 234 B. C. and again in 228. During his first consulship he defeated the Corsicans and Sardinians. In the year 216, just after the battle of Cannæ, he proposed that, in order to fill the vacancies

in the senate caused by that disastrous defeat, two members from each of the Latin communities be selected. (This proposition was a close approach to modern representative government.)

141. **quiescente:** i. e., he took no part in the political strife of the classes. **C. Flaminio:** the *lex Flaminia*, passed in 232 B. C., was the first agrarian law enacted and was in direct opposition to the established policy of the Roman senate. The law provided that certain lands in northern Italy should be distributed among the citizens of Rome (cf. *Brutus*, 14, 57 and Val. Max. 5, 45). The agrarian agitation began with Spurius Cassius's proposition in 486 B. C. (Livy, 2, 41, 3), and the *lex Icilia* in 456 B. C. (Livy, 3, 31, 1) and the *leges Liciniae* in 367 B. C. were notable milestones in the history of this agitation. Cf. Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, §§ 29 and 36.

142. **agrum Picentum et Gallicum:** the Gallic lands here mentioned lay along the Adriatic between Ancona and Ariminum and the Picene lands were somewhat to the south of these. Colonies had been established in the territory of the Gallic Senones about fifty years before, and the distribution here referred to was not to the new colonists, but to individuals (*viritim*).

143. **senatus auctoritatem:** *senatus auctoritas* denotes an opinion of the senate expressed in a formal resolution, while *senatus consultum* denotes a formal decree. **dividenti:** with conative force, "while he endeavored to divide." The participle is here equivalent to *cum* + the imperfect indicative. Cf. l. 670, *lenientem*. **augur:** Fabius was augur for 62 years (Livy, 30, 26, 7) and his disregard of omens was only surpassed by Flaminius's scandalous record. No doubt these men did not hesitate to manipulate the *auspicia* to suit their political aims. See Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, IV, Chap. 12.

145. **ferrentur:** *legem ferre* is the technical term for proposing a law.

§ 12. 146. **Multa:** especially emphatic, as indicated by position.

147. **admirabilius:** sc. *cognovi*, "I have known nothing more worthy of admiration." **quam quo modo:** = *cum modum quo*, "than the manner in which"; case of incorporated antecedent in the relative clause, hence the indic. and not the subjunctive mood. Cf. 10, *quem magistratum gessi*.

148. **filii:** this son, also called Q. Fabius Maximus, was consul in 213 B. C. and died in 205 B. C., before his aged father. **in manibus:** "at hand," "in circulation." Cf. *Laelius*, § 96, *in manibus est oratio*. In addition to this meaning, the phrase signifies: 1, "to have in hand, be occupied with" (*esse* or *habere*, as in l. 270, *quam in manibus habebat*); 2, "to be close at hand, present." **laudatio:** sc. *funebris*, the funeral oration. This speech was in existence as late as Plutarch's time (see Plutarch, *Fabius* 24).

149. **quam cum legimus:** "and when we read it." **contem-**

nimus: "value little, esteem lightly." Cato had only contempt for Greek philosophy. When the celebrated Athenian embassy of philosophers lectured at Rome in 155 B. C., he urged that they be requested to return to Athens immediately for fear they should corrupt the Roman youth (*De Orat.* 2, 155; *Acad.* 2, 137; *Ad Att.* 12, 23, 2, etc.).

150. in luce . . . civium: "in public and before the gaze of his fellow-countrymen," *in luce* is quite a common figure in Cicero (cf. *Ad Qu. Fr.* 1, 1, 7, *in luce Asiae, in oculis provinciae*).

151. intus domique: hendiadys. **praestantior:** sc. *erat*. Cf. l. 140, *praestantior*.

152. notitia: "acquaintance," "familiarity." **scientia:** "knowledge"; i. e., expert knowledge of the principles, in contrast with *notitia*, which signifies "general knowledge" only.

153. ut in homine Romano: "considering the fact that he was a Roman," "for a Roman," restrictive *ut* (see G. 642, 4; L. 1942). Cf. Livy, 30, 33, *Alexander vir ut inter Aetolos facundus*. **litterae:** sc. *erant*, "acquaintance with literature."

154. omnia: in agreement with *bella*. **memoria:** Abl. of means, hence *in* is not employed. **domestica:** wars in which the Romans engaged, not simply civil wars, which is the usual meaning.

155. externa: the wars which other nations waged, though the term ordinarily signifies foreign wars in which Rome engaged. Cf. *Leg. Agr.* 2, 90, *omnibus domesticis externisque bellis*. **Cuius:** =*et eius*. **ita:** looks forward to *quasi* and qualifies *fruebar*, not *cupide*. Cf. l. 318, *sic avide arripui quasi*, etc.

156. illo exstincto: Fabius died 203 B. C. **fore unde . . . neminem:** "there would be no one for me to learn from."

157. unde:=*a quo*. Cf. G. 611, Rem. 1; L. 1793.

CHAPTER V

§ 13. 157. haec tam multa: sc. *dixi*, or some other verb of saying.

158. quia profecto videtis: "because you of course see."

159. fuisse: depends upon the supine *dictu*.

160. Scipiones: "men like Scipio"; a generic plural which is quite common with proper names. Cicero's reference here to Scipio implies a degree of cordiality between Scipio and Cato which did not exist as a matter of fact. It is well attested that Cato during the greater part of his life was an avowed bitter opponent of Scipio (see Introduction, p. xxii).

161. ut: note the repetition of the particle for emphasis (anaphora). **pedestres:** for *terrestres*, "on land" — a common usage. So far as is known, neither Scipio nor Fabius ever engaged personally in a naval battle.

162. quiete et pure atque eleganter: *quiete*, "in quiet," as opposed

to the bustle and stir of a public life; *pure*, "sinlessly," implies moral blamelessness, while *eleganter*, "in a refined manner," denotes daintiness in union with good taste and judgment. Reid maintains that *pure* and *eleganter* are to be taken together as forming one branch of the enumeration, the other branch being *quiete;* and that the two are connected by *et*. This principle, however, appears to be contravened by examples cited in Merguet's Lexicon, and it is probably better to regard the enumeration as a climax, with *atque=and also*.

163. **placida ac lenis senectus:** "a quiet and gentle old age"; *placida* referring to the outward circumstances and *lenis* to the temper and disposition. **qualem accepimus Platonis:** sc. *fuisse senectutem*. Plato, the celebrated philosopher who lived 427–347 B. C.

164. **uno et octogesimo:** in such combinations *unus* is frequently employed instead of the regular *primus*, as "one and eightieth" in English. **scribens:** whether to be taken literally, "with pen in hand," or in the sense "still engaged in writing books" cannot be definitely determined. Valerius Maximus (8, 73) follows this tradition. However, another tradition informs us that Plato died at a wedding feast (Diog. Laert. 3, 2). **Isocrati:** Isocrates, the famous orator and rhetorician, lived from 436 to 338 B. C. He is reputed to have trained more orators than any other rhetorician of antiquity. He starved himself to death, pining for the loss of Greek freedom through the battle of Chæronea. Cf. Milton, *Sonnet X*, "Broke him, as that dishonest victory At Chæronea, fatal to liberty, Killed with report that old man eloquent."

165. **Panathenaicus:** a noted speech, still extant, delivered at the Panathenaic festival eulogizing Athens and Attica (339 B. C.).

168. **Leontinus Gorgias:** Gorgias, the greatest of the sophists, was born at Leontini in Sicily about 485 B. C. and died 378 B. C. In his old age he lived in Thessaly and there met and studied with Isocrates.

169. **neque umquam . . . cessavit:** "without ever relaxing in his enthusiasm for literary work." Cf. 1. 658, *nec modico caret et nimios solis defendit ardores*. **quaererentur:** historical sequence because *inquit* is a historical present. See G. 511, R. 1; A. & G. 485; H. 546; B. 268, 3.

170. **cur tam diu vellet esse in vita:** regarded by some, perhaps without sufficient reason, as a hint at suicide which the Stoics and Epicureans held to be justifiable under certain circumstances.

171. **nihil habeo . . . quod accusem:** "I have no reason to find fault with." The subjunctive after *nihil habeo* is generally explained as the subjunctive of characteristic. Cf. G. 631, 2; A. & G. 535, *a*; H. 591, 4; B. 283, 2; L. 1822.

172. **Praeclarum responsum:** in apposition to the latter part of

the preceding clause. For similar examples see *Laelius*, §§ 67, 71, 79. **docto:** 'a scholar"; i. e., one who combines culture with his learning.

§ 14. **172. Sua:** emphatic like the following *suam*. On the thought compare 7, *in moribus est culpa, non in aetate.*

174. cuius . . . feci: cf. l. 275, *quos ante dixi.*

175. Ennius: see Introduction. The quotation is from his *Annales* (Vahlen's ed., Bk. 12, 374; Müller's ed., Bk. 8).

176. equos: nominative, the spelling of Ennius's time, perhaps also current in Cicero's day before *equus* (*ecus*) came into vogue. **spatio supremo:** "in the last lap." In the Roman circus a race ordinarily included seven laps (*spatia*), in the Greek hippodrome, twelve laps, the chariots racing around the course seven and twelve times respectively. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 5, 325, *Iamque fere spatio extremo fessique.*

177. Vicit Olympia: a cognate accusative in imitation of the Greek νικᾶν Ὀλύμπια. Cf. Hor., *Epist.* 1, 1, 50, *coronari Olympia.* In Greek words transliterated, the Greek υ was represented by the Latin *u* in Ennius's time and even much later. **confectus quiescit:** note that final *s* does not here make position. Cf. l. 6, *plenus fidei.*

178. victoris: adjectival, "victorious." Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 7, 656, *victores equos.* See L. 1042, 1045; A. & G. 321, *c*; G. 204, notes; H. 495, 3.

179. Quem meminisse: *meminisse*, "to recall," when used of persons, is regularly followed by the accusative. See G. 376, 2; B. 206, 1, *a*; A. & G. 350, *a*; H. 454, 2.

180. hi consules: "the present consuls"; i. e., those of the year 150 B. C. when the dialogue is supposed to have taken place. **T. Flaminius:** generally taken to be the undistinguished son of C. Flaminius (cf. l. 7) who built the first road over the Apennines, the famous Via Flaminia, and the Circus Flaminius.

181. M'. Acilius: Manius Acilius Balbus, consul 150 B. C. The apostrophe represents the fifth stroke of M, which in early times was written ʍ. **Caepione:** Cn. Servilius Cæpio, consul 169 B. C. **Philippo:** Q. Marcius Philippus, consul 186 B. C. when he helped to suppress the Bacchanalian conspiracy of that year, and again consul 169 B. C. when he fought against Perseus. He served as censor 164.

183. legem Voconiam: this law introduced by the tribune Q. Voconius Saxa provided that no man who possessed property valued at 100,000 sesterces or over should leave it as a legacy to a woman. The measure was designed to prevent the growing tendency of women to inherit great fortunes which would naturally pass to the families of their husbands. Cato, who was always opposed to luxury

of every sort, supported the bill when it was pending, and his speech was extant in Livy's time (*Periocha* 41).

184. **lateribus:** "lungs." Note that Cicero rarely uses *pulmones* for "lungs" except in sacrificial or medical parlance, *latera* being employed instead.

§ 15. 188. **Etenim:** "in fact," "indeed." *Etenim* serves to mark a transition from the introductory part of the essay to the body of the discussion. **complector:** "I think the matter over"; the object involving the question of age and its burdens has to be supplied.

189. **avocet:** sc. *senes*. The subjunctive denotes partial obliquity, implying that the reason is not the speaker's, but the reason of those who deem old age wretched. The same explanation applies to *faciat* and *privet* and *absit*.

190. **alteram . . . tertiam:** in enumerations of several objects, *primus* and *secundus* are generally replaced by *unus* and *alter* (see Krebs, *Antibarbarus*, 6th ed., 2, p. 345). Cf. *Ad Att.* 3, 15, 1; *De Fin.* 5, 9; *De Off.* 1, 152.

193. **quamque:** = *et quam*. Note that *sit* intervenes between *iusta* and its modifier *quam*. Cicero frequently, as here, by a small word separates *quam*, *quantus*, *tantus*, etc., from the words they qualify. Cf. l. 419, *quam fuit imbecillus;* l. 488, *tam esse inimicum*, etc.

CHAPTER VI

194. **A rebus . . . abstrahit:** a restatement of the first objection against old age. Note the change of mood from Subj. to Indic. inasmuch as the thesis is now the proposition that Cicero is to controvert by argument. **Quibus:** the preposition is understood here which has just been expressed before *rebus*. Such an omission is quite common with relatives and interrogatives, especially where the same verb is already expressed or implied. **an eis:** *an* introduces the second member of the disjunctive question, *utrum omnibus* having to be supplied as the first member; — "Is it from all matters, or simply from those, etc.?" Here *quibus* implies *omnibus*, and *an* clearly has the force of *nonne*. Cf. l. 280, *An in omnibus studiorum agitatio vitae aequales fuit?* l. 346, *An ne illas quidem viris senectute relinquimus*, etc.?

195. **iuventute . . . et viribus:** "the strength of youth"; this figure is called hendiadys.

196. **vel:** "even"; adverbial. **infirmis corporibus:** in sharp contrast with *iuventute et viribus*.

197. **nihil ergo agebat:** note the repetition of *nihil* for rhetorical

effect (anaphora). **L. Paulus tuus pater:** Lucius Æmilius Paulus Macedonicus, consul 182 B. C. and again 168 B. C. During his second consulship he defeated Perseus at Pydna, thus putting an end to the first Macedonian War. Hence his cognomen "Macedonicus." The elder Africanus had two sons, one of whom was expelled from the senate on account of his disreputable life, and the other was an invalid who died young. Africanus thereupon adopted the son of Lucius Æmilius Paulus the hero of Pydna, and the adopted son took the name P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (minor) Æmilianus.

198. filii mei: Marcus Porcius Cato, son of Cato, married Æmilia the daughter of Paulus, and died when prætor-elect in 152 B. C.

199. Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii: generic plurals like *Scipiones aut Maximi* (l. 160). C. Fabricius Luscinus, noted for the simplicity and integrity of his character, was consul in 282, 278, and 273 B. C. and censor in 275. He was appointed commander against Pyrrhus (281–275 B. C.). Marius Curius Dentatus, noted for his simplicity and frugality, also commanded against Pyrrhus and practically concluded the third Samnite War. He was consul in 290, 275 and 274 B. C. Tiberius Coruncanius was consul in 280 B. C. and won a name for himself both in the war against Pyrrhus and also in the war against the Etruscans. **cum . . . defendebant:** explicative *cum* (see G. 582). Cf. *In Cat.* 1, 8, 21, *cum tacent, clamant.*

200. nihil agebant: forms with *nihil ergo agebat* an example of chiasmus.

§ **16. 201. Appi Claudi:** Appius Claudius Cæcus, consul 307 and 296 B. C., who as censor in 311 B. C. built the queen of Roman highways, the famous Appian Way, which extended from Rome to Capua (later extended to Brundisium). He also built the first of the Roman aqueducts, the *Aqua Appia*. When the question of peace with Pyrrhus was under discussion in the senate, he had himself carried into the senate-house to speak against it. (Val. Max. 8, 13, 5.) **accedebat:** more commonly followed by a *quod*-clause with the Indic. than by an *ut*-clause as here. This construction implies Appius's blindness was a result of old age.

202. ad pacem . . . faciendum: *faciendum* is to be taken with *pacem* also, though it agrees directly with *foedus*.

203. dubitavit dicere: see G. 555, R. 3.

204. persecutus est: "has expressed."

205. Quo vobis: the lines are from Ennius's *Annales* (Vahlen's ed., Bk. 6, 202). **mentes . . . dementis:** a contradiction in terms (oxymoron).

206. Antehac: dissyllabic, as usual, by synizesis (*antehac*). **dementis:** "senseless"; nominative (early form). **viai:** archaic genitive, partitive after *quo*, lit. "whither of the way?"

207. ceteraque: refers to Appius's speech. **carmen:** "the poem," "the passage."

208. et tamen: there seems to be an ellipsis here. The sense is, "and yet there is no occasion to refer to Ennius's quotation from Appius's oration, for the speech itself is extant." **oratio:** Appius's speech was regarded as one of the earliest documents in Latin prose extant in Cicero's time. Cicero's reference to it (in his *Brutus*, 61) indicates that he found it rather dry reading.

209. cum . . . interfuissent censorque . . . fuisset: the circumstantial *cum*-clauses seem here employed simply as a substitute for the perfect participle and have the value of the Abl. Abs. construction, — "ten years having intervened between his two consulships and his censorship having preceded his consulship." Cf. l. 330, *cum quadrennio post alterum consulatum pontifex maximus factus esset;* l. 502, *cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis.* See Hale, *Cum-Constructions*, pp. 184–189; G. 585, R.; A. & G. 493, 2; L. 1872.

210. ante . . . consulatum: an evidence of Appius's exceptional character, since only ex-consuls were usually elected censors.

212. grandem sane: "really an old man." He was probably 70 years old at least at the time of the war with Pyrrhus (280 B. C.). **et tamen:** see note on *et tamen* above, l. 208. **sic:** some editors take *sic* as referring to *Atque haec ille agit*, but it more probably refers to the immediately preceding statement *grandem sane fuisse.* Cf. 78, *sic mihi persuasi.*

§ 17. **213. Nihil igitur afferunt:** "they therefore bring forward no argument"; i. e., that shows old age to be wretched.

214. similesque . . . ut si qui: an unusual combination. *Ut si* with the subjunctive is quite regular to introduce an imaginary illustration. But *ut si* rarely occurs in combination with *similis.* Yet, according to Merguet (*Lex. zu der philosophischen Schriften Ciceros*), *similiter ut si* occurs (*Tusc. Disp.* 4, 41; *De Off.* 1, 87). **cum scandant . . . cursent . . . exhauriant . . . sedeat:** subjunctive of partial obliquity. **per foros:** "along the deck."

217. clavum: "tiller"; i. e., the oar or oars used for steering. Cf. *Ad Fam.* 9, 15, 3, *sedebamus in puppi et clavum tenebamus;* also Ennius, *Ann.* 438 (Vahlen's ed.), *Dum clavum rectum teneam navemque gubernem.*

219. Non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum: *corporum* modifies *viribus* and *velocitate* as well as *celeritate*, and the words are all emphatic as their position indicates. Trans.: "It is not by strength of body, or rapidity of movement, or by swiftness that great results are achieved."

221. quibus: serves in a two-fold relation: 1. Abl. of separation

with *orbari;* 2. Abl. of specification with *augeri;* — "qualities of which old age is not only not usually deprived, but in respect of which it is even accustomed to be enriched." Such a rhetorical figure is called ἀπὸ κοινοῦ (in common).

§ 18. **222. Nisi forte:** ordinarily denotes an absurd, though possible supposition, as here. Cf. l. 397, *nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paululum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere.* **miles:** "a private." **et tribunus et legatus et consul:** note the gain in emphasis by the repetition of *et* (polysyndeton). Note also the climax, — "private, tribune, lieutenant, consul." The consul of course had general command, the *legatus* was next in rank to the commander-in-chief (*consul*) and the *tribunus militum* (of whom there were six to a legion, each commanding in turn for two months) was placed over the private (*miles*) and under the direct supervision of the *legatus.*

223. in vario genere: "in various kinds."

224. cessare: "to be idle." Cf. 13, *cessavit.* **at:** cf. l. 218, *at vero.* For the thought see *De Off.* 1, 79.

225. male iam diu cogitati: "which has now for a long time been plotting mischief." See G. 230, 668; A. & G. 490, 1; H. 638; B. 336, 2.

226. bellum multo ante denuntio: i. e., Cato declares war against Carthage long before hostilities actually began. He was so envious of the maritime prestige and the trade supremacy of Rome's rival that he is reputed always to have closed his speeches in the senate with the words, *censeo Karthaginem esse delendam* (Plutarch, *Cato,* 27).

§ 19. **228. Quam palmam:** i. e., the glory of destroying Carthage. Carthage was taken in the year 146 B. C., four years after the supposed date of this dialogue, so that Cicero here makes Cato utter the destruction of that nation as a prophecy.

229. ut avi reliquias persequare: "of completing the work your grandfather left unfinished." Scipio's grandfather here referred to was Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (maior) who fought at Cannæ, later in Spain and in Africa and at length defeated Hannibal at Zama, in 202 B. C.

230. sextus hic et tricesimus annus: Scipio died thirty-five years before the date of this dialogue, in 185 B.C. **memoriam:** there is no intimation here of the feeling of bitter enmity which Cato really entertained toward Scipio. That unrelenting animosity resulted in forcing the hero of the Second Punic War and the conqueror of Hannibal into retirement upon his estate near Naples, and here it was that Scipio died when but little over fifty years old.

231. excipient: "cherish," lit. "take up." **Anno ante me censorem:** the generally accepted date of Scipio's death is 185 B. C., but there is some doubt about this, some assigning 183 as the cor-

rect date. Livy (39, 50, 10; also 52, 1–2) argues for the year 185 on the ground that in the year of the censorship of Cato and Valerius (i. e., 184 B. C.) Valerius was named *princeps senatus* to succeed Scipio who must of course have been dead. **novem annis post meum consulatum:** Cato's consulship terminated in March, 194 B. C., and so nine full years after would make the date appear to be 185 B. C.

233. cum . . . creatus esset: see note on l. 209 above, *cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent, censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset.* **paeniteret:** "would he now regret?" If Scipio, who was born 235 B. C., had lived to his hundredth year, he would have been 85 years old at the time of this dialogue and would still have had fifteen years more to live; hence the imperfect tense (*paeniteret*).

235. nec enim: "No, for"; *nec* is correlative to the following *nec*. **excursione:** "skirmishing"; military term. Cicero seems here to have in mind military exercises, such as those in which the light-armed soldiers (*veles*) engaged.

236. hastis:=*pilis*. Years before Cicero's time the long *hasta* had been superseded by the short *pilum* with which the legionaries were generally armed (Livy, 26, 4, 4; 38, 20, 1; 38, 21, 13). **consilio, ratione, sententia:** see l. 220, *consilio, auctoritate, sententia*.

238. consilium: frequently used for *concilium*, a deliberative assembly, the senate.

§ 20. **239. amplissimum:** "most distinguished." Cicero makes the point that whereas the Romans called their councillors *senatores* implying that they are old men (*ut sunt senes*), the Lacedæmonians called their councillors *senes*. The reference is of course to the γέροντες (councillors) who constituted the γερουσία. This body consisted of 28 members and no man under sixty years of age was eligible thereto.

241. externa: "foreign history," as in l. 155, *externa bella*.

244. cedo: "tell me," lit. "give here"; an archaic imperative, 2d sing. (from *ce* (cf. *hic* from *hi*+*ce*)+*do* (from *dare*)). The line is an iambic octonarius and is thus scanned:

$$\smile\smile \text{x} \mid -- \mid - \text{x} \mid \smile - \parallel - \text{x} \mid -- \mid - \text{x} \mid \smile -$$

Note that the anapæst ($\smile\smile$ x) and the spondee ($-$ x) are employed in most of the feet as allowable substitutes for the iambus ($\smile$ x), and that the verse ictus occurs on alternate feet only. See G. 758. **qui:** "how?" Cf. l. 54, *qui enim citius adulescentis senectus quam pueritiae adulescentia abrepit?*

245. Naevi: Cn. Nævius, a native Campanian, born 269 or 264 B. C. and died at Utica 199 B. C. After fighting in the First Punic War he wrote an epic poem *Bellum Punicum* on that war, in the old Satur-

nian verse, and also produced plays, both tragedies and comedies. His boldness in satirizing the nobility, especially the powerful family of the Metelli, landed him in prison and sent him into exile finally. **Ludo:** it is doubtful whether this is the specific name of a play by Naevius, viz. the "Lydian or Etruscan," as some editors interpret it. It was at all events of the type of early Latin plays called *fabulae praetextae*, i. e., a national Italian tragedy which was sharply distinguished from the *tragoedia* adapted from the Greek. See Crit. Ap.

246. et alia et: "among other things this reply especially was given"; lit. "both others and this."

247. Proveniebant aut oratores: another iambic octonarius, and from the same play as the preceding line. The scansion is:

$$- \smile \smile \mid - - \mid - \angle \mid - - \parallel \smile \angle \mid - \smile \smile \mid - \angle \mid \smile -$$

stulti adulescentuli: so characterized probably because they urged the change of government from an aristocracy to a kingdom. (Both lines are cited in Merry's *Fragments of Early Roman Poetry*, p. 20.)

248. florentis aetatis, . . . senescentis: "a mark of youth, . . . of old age": pred. Gen. of possession.

CHAPTER VII

§ 21. 250. At memoria minuitur: "But some one may say that memory is impaired"; objection of an imaginary opponent. Cf. l. 388, *At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis*, l. 416, *At multi ita sunt imbecilli senes;* ll. 578, 801, etc. **Credo:** "to be sure," "of course." Cf. l. 578, *At non est*, etc. . . . *Credo.* **nisi eam exerceas:** ideal second person, — "you, one," Cf. l. 344, *exsequi nequeas;* l. 397, *ne requiras.*

251. tardior: "rather stupid." Cf. *De Or.* 1, 28, 127, *si qui forte sit tardior.* **Themistocles:** the celebrated Athenian general and statesman, hero of Salamis (480 B. C.). Driven into exile 471 B. C., he lived in Persia and Asia Minor till his death about a decade later. He is reputed to have possessed a wonderful memory.

252. perceperat: "had mastered."

253. qui Aristides esset: *qui* = *tametsi is.* Understand *eum* as object of *salutare* and take *Lysimachum* as predicate accusative. **Lysimachum:** the father of Aristides, who was Themistocles' strong rival. It is not at all likely that Themistocles would forget his old rival or confuse him with another.

254. Equidem: Cicero often uses *equidem* as equivalent to *ego quidem*, "as for myself, I." **sunt:** = *vivunt*, as often; "are still alive." Cf. l. 669, *At Homerus qui . . . fuit.* **sepulcra:** by metonymy for epitaphs. The elaborate Roman tombs along the great highways leading out of the city arrested the attention of travellers and especially of old men who are reputed to have occupied themselves in

reading and studying the inscriptions upon the tombs. Perhaps Cato, who was a noted antiquarian, even indulged in this practice.

256. quod aiunt: "as they say," implying a proverb though here perhaps only a superstition. **his . . . legendis:** "by reading these very epitaphs." As historian Cato did not neglect even the inscriptions on tombs as throwing light upon the past. Cf. l. 454, *Septimus mihi liber Originum . . . omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo.*

257. quemquam senem: adjectival use of the substantive *quisquam* (for *ullus*), somewhat rare in Cicero Cf. *De Off.* 3, 101, *cuiquam civi; Verr.* 2, 6, 17, *si cuiquam generi hominum, si cuiquam ordini aratorum probatus sit; Fam.* 3, 10, 6, *ubi cuiquam legationi fui impedimento.* See G. 107, 3, N. 2; Krebs, *Antibarbarus*, 6th ed., 2, p. 418. **thesaurum:** a reference to the common practice among the ancient Romans, of burying money, especially under the dwelling. Plautus introduces a treasure-trove into several of his plays (see *Aulularia* and *Trinummus*).

259. vadimonia constituta: "appointments to appear in court." *Vadimonium* sometimes means "bail," the sum of money determined (*constituere*) by the judge (*praetor*) and sometimes simply a "promise to appear in court," on one's own recognizance. When, upon the adjournment of a suit, the defendant promised to appear in court on the appointed day, his action was technically called *vadimonium promittere.* In case of failure to keep his appointment (*vadimonium*), he was said *vadimonium deserere;* if he kept the appointment, he was said *vadimonium sistere*, or *obire.*

§ 22. **260. quid . . . senes:** *faciunt*, or *agunt*, or a similar verb is to be supplied here with *quid*, and *senes* is to be taken as predicate apposition with each member of the series; — "how do jurists as old men do, etc.?" **iuris consulti:** not advocate or lawyer, but "jurists" who were consulted especially on difficult legal points and whose opinions came finally to have the weight and force of law in certain cases, as for example, in the case of those upon whom the emperors conferred the *ius respondendi.* Cf. l. 334, *Sex Aelius . . . Ti. Coruncanius . . . P. Crassus a quibus iura civibus praescribebantur.*

261. quam multa meminerunt: this implies that the jurists, pontiffs, augurs and philosophers were required by their very profession to tax their memories with many details as well as with general principles.

262. Manent: "old men do retain their faculties"; emphatic as indicated by position. Note the adversative asyndeton. **modo permaneat:** conditional wish, proviso; hence subjunctive. See G. 573; H. 587; A. & G. 528; B. 310. Cf. l. 391, *Moderatio modo virium adsit . . . nitatur.*

263. honoratis: "honorable," applicable to men who had filled

high public office (*honor*). **privata et quieta:** contrasted with *claris et honoratis*. Note the chiasmus, *privata* being contrasted with *honoratis* and *quieta* with *claris*.

264. Sophocles: the distinguished Greek tragic poet, who lived 496–406 B. C. Only seven of his numerous tragedies have survived. The story here related by Cicero is held to be apocryphal.

265. quod propter studium cum: "and when from his devotion to this occupation." See note on l. 25, *cui qui*.

266. a filiis: most of the ancient writers (Cicero and Plutarch excepted) attribute this action to Sophocles' eldest son Jophon only.

267. nostro more: this custom was recognized in Roman law as far back as the Twelve Tables (450 B. C.).

268. patribus: Dat. of personal interest after the impersonal *interdici*. See G. 350. **bonis:** Abl. of separation. See G. 390, 2, N. 3; A. & G. 364, N. 1; H. 464, 3.

269. quasi desipientem: "on the ground that his mind is impaired."

270. fabulam: "play," whether comedy or tragedy. **quam in manibus habebat:** "which he had in preparation"; metaphorical, whereas in l. 148, *in manibus* has a literal meaning.

271. scripserat: the context denotes that he had written the play, but had not yet put the finishing touches upon it. **Oedipum Coloneum:** the (Edipus at Colonus. The latter part of this play is referred to, which represents wandering (Edipus in his old age as arriving at Colonus near Athens. Tradition relates that the passage selected by the poet for recitation on the occasion here indicated was the superb choral ode in praise of Athens (ll. 668–717).

272. carmen: "ode," "poem"; used probably to avoid repetition of *fabula*.

273. est liberatus: = *absolutus est*, "was acquitted."

§ 23. **274. Homerum,** etc.: note the arrangement of the names in this catalogue; — first, poets (four, in alliterative pairs); then, rhetoricians (a pair), and lastly, philosophers (in three groups of varying number). The poets, rhetoricians and philosophers here mentioned by Cato were all men who reached a ripe old age. There is an implied contrast in the periods represented by the pairs of poets, while of the groups of philosophers the first (Pythagoras and Democritus) represent the older schools, the second (Plato and Xenocrates) the golden age of philosophy and the third (Zeno, Cleanthes and Diogenes) represent the Stoic school. **Hesiodum:** the Greek poet Hesiod, author of the *Works and Days*, who was born at Ascra in Bœotia and flourished about 750 B. C.

275. Simonidem: Simonides of Ceos, 556–468 B. C., the celebrated Greek lyric poet. Only fragments of his poetry have come down to us. Among his elegies and epigrams is the famous epigram written

in honor of the brave Spartans who fell at Thermopylæ. **Stesichorum:** Stesichorus of Himera, Sicily, another celebrated Greek lyricist who lived about 640-555 B. C. Only fragments of his poetry have survived. **Isocratem Gorgiam:** see note on l. 168.

276. Pythagoram: Pythagoras of Samos, the famous founder of the Pythagorean school, who flourished in the latter half of the sixth century B. C. He advocated the theory of the transmigration of spirits (metempsychosis). **Democritum:** Democritus of Abdera, in Thrace, who flourished about 460–361 B. C. and is reputed the founder of the atomic theory adopted by the Epicureans.

277. Xenocratem: Xenocrates of Chalcedon (396–314 B. C.). He was a pupil of Plato and for twenty-five years (339–314 B. C.) president of the Academy.

278. Zenonem: Zeno of Citium in Cyprus, who lived 350–250 B. C. He was the founder of the Stoic school and its honored president for more than a half century.

278. Cleanthem: Cleanthes of Assos (300–220 B. C.), a famous Stoic, who succeeded Zeno as head of that school.

279. Diogenem Stoicum: Diogenes the Stoic, not Diogenes the cynic, born at Seleucia near Babylon, and once head of the Stoic school. He came to Rome in 155 B. C. with the Athenian embassy of philosophers. But Cato, who was opposed to their Greek teachings, soon forced Diogenes and his confrères to return to Athens. It is all the more remarkable therefore that Cicero makes Cato in this dialogue, which is supposed to have occurred five years after that event, refer to the aged Diogenes in such enthusiastic terms.

281. vitae aequalis: "coextensive with their life."

§ 24. **281. Age:** "come, now" (short for *hoc age*, "do this," i. e., "heed what follows"); a transitional phrase used in passing from one subject to another. **divina studia:** i. e., poetry, philosophy and like pursuits.

282. possum nominare: "I might name." Note the use of the indicative in such expressions, the potential idea being implied in *possum* (see G. 254, R. 1; L. 1495). The rhetorical figure is *praeteritio*, which consists in mentioning a subject ostensibly passed over, — a figure of frequent occurrence in the *Cato Maior*. **ex agro Sabino:** "in the Sabine district"; a prepositional phrase with the force of an adjective modifying *Romanos*. **rusticos Romanos:** "country-bred Romans"; i. e., the farmers who owned a small patch of land and cultivated it by the labor of their own hands. It was this class of sturdy yeomen that the great landed estate and slave labor gradually absorbed, with disastrous effect upon the fortunes of the Republic.

284. numquam fere . . . opera: "hardly ever any farm work of importance."

285. non: used to repeat the negative force of *numquam*, not to counteract it. Cf. *Laelius*, § 48, *non tantum . . . non plus quam*. See G. 445; B. 347; A. & G. 327; H. 656. **serendis . . . fructibus:** the Abl. of the gerundive is employed to express means and cause, seldom manner or circumstance (see G. 431 and 433; L. 2266). Here the idea is circumstance, and the construction, which is very rare till Livy, takes the place of a present participle or a *dum*-clause (see Riemann, *Études sur Tite Live*, § 133, where a few examples are cited from Cicero, *De Or.* 68, 228; *Part. Orat.* 14, 50). Observe the zeugma in *serendis fructibus*.

286. in aliis: here neuter with substantival force and in contrast with *in eis . . . quae sciunt*, below. Cf. l. 26, *Sed de ceteris*.

287. idem: nominative plural.

289. serit: the metre is the cretic tetrameter, according to G. Hermann.

⏑ ‿ | ⏑ ‿ | ⏑ ‿ | ⏑ ‿

However, most editors take the line as a bacchiac tetrameter. Ribbeck (*Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta*, 3d ed., p. 80) by transposition makes it a senarius. **alteri saeculo:** "the next generation" (Bennett). Note the use of *alter* for *secundus* and that *saeculum* (from *sero*, "to sow") is developed from *sacclum* the early form by the excrescent vowel between *c* and *l*.

290. prosient: archaic for *prosint;* Subj. of purpose. Cicero quotes this line also in *Tusc.* 1, 31.

291. Statius: Cæcilius Statius (220–166 B. C.), an Insubrian Gaul by birth. He came to Rome as a slave and, on being manumitted, associated himself with his friend Ennius and wrote comedies adapted from the Greek. Only fragments of his plays remain. **Synephebis:** Synephebi ("the young comrades"), a comedy adapted from the Greek Συνέφηβοι of Menander (see Sellar, *Roman Poetry of the Republic*, p. 205; also Teuffel and Schwabe, *Hist. of Roman Lit.*, trans. by Warr, § 106).

§ 25. 292. quamvis sit senex: "however old he may be."

293. haec: in reference to the landed estate which the aged farmer owned and which he indicates with a gesture of his hand. In a similar manner Roman orators used to refer to the vast domains of their country by *haec*. Cf. *In Cat.* 4, 7, *haec delere*, etc. See Nägelsbach, *Stilistik*, 8th ed., p. 201.

294. prodere: "to bequeath," "to transmit." Cf. *Mil.* 30, 83, *qui sacra suis posteris prodiderunt*.

CHAPTER VIII

295. melius: sc. *dicit* or *ait*. **quam illud idem:** "than he does in the following"; lit. "than the same (Cæcilius says) what follows." It is to be observed that Cato is here digressing and that the passage he quotes, while bearing upon the general theme of old age, is not strictly germane to the present topic (that old age withdraws men from active work). He is led into this digression by his desire to convict Cæcilius of error.

297. Edepol, etc.: these verses are from the *Plocium* (Πλοκίον, "Ringlet, or Necklace"), a comedy which Cæcilius adapted from the original of Menander. See Ribbeck, *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta*, 3d ed., p. 75; also Merry, *Fragments of Early Roman Poetry*, p. 94. The verses are iambic senarii and are scanned thus:

⏑ ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ – | – ⏓ | – – | ⏑ ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ –
– ⏓ | – – | – ⏓ | ⏑ – | – ⏓ | ⏑ –
– ⏓ | ⏑ – | – ⏓ | ⏑ – | – ⏓ | ⏑ –

Note that *diu* in the last line is monosyllabic by synizesis, thus making the foot a spondee. **nil quicquam:** *quicquam* is pleonastic and a mark of old Latin (see Lane 2402). Cf. Ter., *Phorm.* 80, *noster mali nil quicquam primo; ib.* 84, *quo nemo vir melior natus est.*

298. adportes: "should bring"; ideal condition. **quom:** archaic for *cum*, as *sat* likewise is for *satis*.

300. quae non volt videt: the subject may be *senex*, to be inferred from *senectus* (as Moore thinks), or it may be general, "you," i. e., any one. *Volt* for *vult*, was probably written in conscious imitation of Cæcilius's archaic form.

302. Illud: "the following" (sentiment). See *illud* above, l. 297.

304. Tum equidem: the lines are from Cæcilius's *Ephesio* (see Ribbeck, *Scaenicae Romanorum Poesis Fragmenta*, 3d ed., p. 46) and are iambic senarii:

⏑ ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ – | – ⏓ | ⏑ – | ⏑ ⏓ | ⏑ ⏑
– ⏓ | ⏑ – | – ⏓ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓ | ⏑ –

senecta: poetical and post-Augustan, not used by Cicero. **deputo:** ante- and post-classical, according to Lewis and Short.

305. eumpse: (*eum* + *pse*) archaic form of *ipsum*, subject of the infinitive *sentire*. In the original form the pronoun *is* was declined and the suffix *pse* remained unchanged. (Cf. *eapse*, *eampse*, *eopse*, etc., here and there in Plautus, — *Most.* 346; *Aul.* 815; *Curc.* 538.) **alteri:** "to one's neighbor"; i. e., to any one in general. Some editors make *alteri* agree with *aetati*, to be supplied from the preceding *aetate*, in which case the sense is, "that old age is a bore to the young."

306. Iucundum, etc.: in rebuttal of the preceding affirmation of Cæcilius, like *Et multa fortasse*, etc., above.

§ 26. 307. **sapientes senes:** "wise old men." Note the chiasmus, *adulescentibus . . . praeditis, sapientes senes.*

310. **nec minus intellego,** etc.: = *nec minus intellego me vobis esse iucundum quam vos mihi iucundi estis:* an example of attraction of a finite verb into the infinitive after *quam*, which is quite common. *Minus* modifies *iucundos*, not *intellego*.

311. **Sed videtis,** etc.: after his long digression Cato here resumes the discussion of the activity of old age. **ut:** "how"; dependent interrogative. Cf. l. 366, *Videtisne ut,* &c.

313. **agens aliquid et moliens:** present participle in the predicate with adjectival force, — somewhat rare.

314. **tale scilicet quale:** "some such thing doubtless as."

315. **Quid:** "What about those who, etc.?" Cf. l. 260, *Quid iuris consulti? quid pontifices,* etc. **Solonem:** Solon, the celebrated Athenian law-giver (639–559 B. C.). He was a poet as well as a statesman, and fragments of his poetry have survived. The verse here referred to reads (Plutarch, *Solon*, 31), γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος.

316. **gloriantem:** participle used in place of an infinitive to express the actual condition of the object perceived (see G. 536; A. & G. 497, *d*; H. 613, 4; B. 337, 3).

317. **et ego:** "and I likewise." Note that *et* here is correlative with the preceding *et* which is not to be translated.

318. **senex:** "in my old age," "when an old man." Plutarch comments upon this point (in his *Cato* 2). See Introduction, Cato. **sic:** modifies *aride*, "so eagerly." Some editors, however, take it as correlative with the following *quasi*.

320. **quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis:** *exemplis* is in predicate apposition to *quibus* which is the direct object of *uti*. Cicero here attributes to Cato a degree of familiarity with Greek which Cato perhaps did not possess, hence the rather apologetic manner.

321. **in fidibus:** "on the lyre," "in case of the lyre," in reference to Socrates's skill as a musician. **vellem:** "I wish I might also have done," potential of the past.

322. **fidibus:** sc. *canere*, "to play the lyre"; *fidibus* is Abl. of means. **in litteris:** i. e., Greek literature.

CHAPTER IX

§ 27. 324. **Nec nunc quidem,** etc.: "Nor do I indeed now feel the lack of the strength of a young man, etc." Some editors take *Nec . . . quidem* as used for *Et ne . . . quidem*, but this is probably incorrect.

325. **locus alter:** refers to the second point in the argument; *locus*

is often employed in this sense. **non plus:** *non* simply repeats the negative expressed in *ne* above and is not to be translated. Cf. l. 108, *Nec enim . . . ne sapienti quidem;* also l. 284, *numquam . . . non serendis.*

326. Quod est: the antecedent of the relative is the following *eo.*

327. agas: generic relatives regularly stand in the Indic. mood, but here the indefinite character of the statement and the ideal second person call for the subjunctive. Cf. *De Orat.* 3, 52, 201, *Conformatio sentiarum permanet, quibuscumque verbis uti velis;* also *De Off.* 3, 13, 57, and *Tus. Disp.* 1, 14.

328. vox: "utterance," "speech." **contemptior:** "more to be despised"; the perfect passive particle of *contemnere* has the force of an adjective in *bilis* (cf. *invictus*). **Milonis Crotoniatae:** Milo of Crotona, in Southern Italy, a noted Greek athlete of the sixth century B. C., whose achievements were celebrated far and wide in song and verse. He won renown again and again in the Olympic and Pythian games. He also enjoyed the reputation of having a ravenous appetite.

331. At: the elliptical use of *at* which is quite common in exclamations. The idea is, "The arms of those young men are very strong, but these of mine are, etc." Here deep pathos is implied in the exclamation of the aged Milo.

332. Non vero: an emphatic negative reply or retort. **isti:** sc. *mortui sunt.* **nugator:** "trifler." Cf. Plautus, *Mil.* 1078, *vae tibi nugator; Capt.* 275, *nimius nugator.*

333. lateribus: "lungs," i. e., wind. See note on l. 183, *bonis lateribus.* Cf. l. 339, *sed laterum etiam et virium.*

334. Nihil . . . tale: sc. *egit.* Note the repetition of *nihil* (anaphora). **Sex. Aelius:** Sextus Ælius Pætus Catus, consul 198 B. C. and censor 194 B. C. He was among the most famous of the early Roman jurists and wrote a commentary on the Twelve Tables.

335. Ti. Coruncanius: see note on l. 199, *Coruncanii.* **modo:** "in recent times," "nearer our own day." **P. Crassus:** Cicero probably means not P. Licinius Crassus who was consul 171 B. C., though he was not distinguished as a jurist, but he rather means P. Licinius Crassus Dives who was pontifex maximus 212 B. C. and consul 205 B. C. and was both a statesman and an eminent jurist. He also conducted a campaign against Hannibal.

336. iura . . . praescribebantur: in reference to the expert opinions (*responsa*) of the jurists given on knotty points of the law, according to an established Roman custom (see note on l. 260, *iuris consulti*).

337. est provecta: "continued," "remained," lit. "was carried forward." **prudentia:** "legal knowledge or skill" (cf. *iuris prudentia*).

§ 28. **337. Orator:** "As far as the orator is concerned"; emphatic as its position indicates.

338. senectute: "from old age"; Abl. of cause.

339. Omnino: "no doubt," "to be sure"; concessive (cf. l. 553, *omnino modice*) and in contrast with *sed tamen* below. Trans.: "No doubt that tuneful quality in the voice, somehow or other, becomes even more attractive in old age." The entire sentence appears designed as a refutation of the previous charge. The first argument adduced is a partial answer, but that is reinforced by the second beginning *sed tamen*, which is regarded as the more important.

340. splendescit: the use of this word does not seem to harmonize with *canorum*, and so some editors have called attention to the mixed metaphor. But, as Moore has pointed out, Cicero uses the epithet *splendida* in describing the human voice (*Brutus*, 55, 203, *Vox suavis et splendida*). Cf. *Brutus*, 68, 239, *actio eius habebat in voce magnum splendorem; ib.* 71, 250, *splendore vocis;* Quint., *Inst.* 11, 15, *Nam (vox) est et candida et fusca et plena et exilis*, etc. **nescio quo pacto:** cf. l. 1006, *nescio quo modo*.

341. et videtis annos: "even though you see my years"; *et* is here concessive, equivalent to *tamen*. This use of *et* occurs especially after negatives, and *-que* is also employed in the same sense (cf. l. 167, *vixitque;* l. 524, *eumque;* l. 902, *isque; Lael.* § 26, *et quicquid*).

342. sermo quietus et remissus: "calm and gentle manner of speech," i. e., without the animation and passion of the orator.

343. audientiam: "a hearing," as usual, not "an audience." **cocta et mitis:** "elegant and mature," i. e., without any crudities of style. See Critical App.

344. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas: "And if you should not be able to practice this yourself"; the antecedent of *quam* is *oratio*.

345. Scipioni: "a Scipio," implying that he served as an example.

346. studiis iuventutis: "with enthusiastic young men"; lit. "with the enthusiasm of youth." Note the alliteration, — *senectute stipata studiis*.

§ 29. **346. ne illas quidem:** *ne-quidem* is the negative adverb, of course, and *illas* is followed by the result clause *ut doceat*.

348. instituat: "train up." Note that *docere* means "to teach, to impart knowledge," *instituere* "to establish, to train by forming the character through knowledge" and *instruere* "to instruct, to equip or prepare for practical life." **officii munus:** "performance of duty." Cf. l. 417, *ut nullum officii aut omnino vitae munus;* l. 880, *munus officii;* also l. 409, *officia et munera*.

349. Cn. et P. Scipiones: the plural is regular when the names of two persons of the same family are connected by *et* (see G. 290, N. 1;

Draeger, *Hist. Syn.*, 2d ed., 1, p. 1). Cnæus Cornelius Scipio, consul 222 B.C., and Publius Cornelius Scipio, consul 218 B.C., were brothers, of whom the former was the father of the Elder Africanus. They both served in the Second Punic War and fought in Spain, where they fell in the overwhelming defeat of 212 B. C.

350. L. Aemilius et P. Africanus: L. Æmilius Paulus, the father of L. Æmilius Paulus Macedonicus, consul 219 and 216 B. C., perished at the battle of Cannæ. He was the actual grandfather of the younger Scipio Africanus. Publius Africanus (see 19) was his adoptive grandfather.

352. non beati putandi: sc. *sunt*, "are to be regarded as not happy." **quamvis . . . defecerint:** "however much their strength may have wasted away and failed."

353. Etsi: "And yet." See note on l. 18, *etsi*. **ista ipsa:** see Crit. Appendix.

354. adulescentiae: contrasted with the following *senectutis*. **vitiis:** "faults," "imperfections."

§ 30. **356. Cyrus:** Cyrus the Elder, founder of the Persian empire, who flourished 599–529 B. C. He is made the hero of Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*. **apud Xenophontem:** "in Xenophon" (*Cyropaedia* 8, 7, 6). This use of *apud* in citations is the regular Latin construction; cf. l. 967, *apud Xenophontem;* l. 366, *apud Homerum*. If a specific book of an author is mentioned, the construction is *in* with the Ablative.

357. cum: concessive.

360. Metellum: L. Cæcilius Metellus, consul 251 and 247 B. C., defeated the Carthaginians at Panormus in Sicily, 251 B. C., died 221. **memini puer:** denotes personal recollection as indicated by the infinitive (*esse*). See G. 281, 2, note; L. 2220; A. & G. 584, *a*. **cum:** circumstantial *cum*-clause. Cf. l. 209, *cum inter duos . . . interfuissent;* l. 502, *cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset*.

364. requireret: "feel the loss of," "be in want of." **Nihil:** "Not at all," "by no means."

CHAPTER X

§ 31. **366. Videtisne:** "don't you see" (colloquial); a passionate question with the force of a command. **ut:** "how." Cf. 26, *Sed videtis ut . . . sit*. **apud Homerum:** *Iliad* 1, 260 ff., also *ib.* 11, 668 ff.

367. tertiam aetatem: cf. *Iliad* 1, 252, μετὰ δὲ τριτάτοισιν ἄνασσεν, "he was ruling among the third generations."

369. vera praedicans de se: "in telling the truth about himself." **insolens aut loquax:** "immoderate or garrulous."

370. ex eius lingua: a translation of *Iliad* 1, 249, *τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή.*

372. dux ille: i. e., Agamemnon. Note the force of *ille*, "that renowned," "famous." **nusquam:** i. e., nowhere in Homer.

373. ut . . . habeat: the regular construction after *optat*. **Aiacis:** Ajax of Telemon, the Greek warrior, who was conspicuous in service while Achilles sulked (*Iliad* 2, 768). **sed ut Nestoris:** ellipsis for *sed ut decem Nestoris similes habeat*. For Agamemnon's wish for ten counsellors like Nestor, see *Iliad* 2, 371.

374. quod si: "and if that." **acciderit:** subjunctive by attraction. Note the idiomatic use of the perfect.

§ 32. **375. redeo ad me:** cf. l. 550, *ad me ipsum iam revertar*.

376. vellem . . . possem: optative subjunctive with adverse decision (G. 261, R.; B. 296, 1, *a*). Cf. l. 321, *Vellem equidem etiam illud;* also below, *mallem*. **idem:** acc. of result. See G. 333, 1; B. 176, 2, *a*; A. & G. 390, *c*; H. 409, 1.

377. queo: usually combined with a negative, rarely found in positive clauses, where *possum* is the reigning verb (L. 768). **non me quidem iis esse:** "that though I have not that strength"; correlative with *sed tamen*, l. 381. Cicero here avails himself of the natural freedom of dialogue in changing from the indirect to the direct discourse, *non adflixit senectus*. **iis viribus:** Abl. of quality.

378. miles: "a private," as in l. 222, *miles*. **bello Punico:** i. e., 217 B. C. **quaestor eodem bello:** i. e., 204 B. C.

379. consul in Hispania: i. e., 195 B. C. Cato's Spanish campaign was so successful that the senate decreed him, upon his return, a three days' thanksgiving as a special mark of distinction.

380. tribunus militaris: i. e., 191 B. C., in the campaign against Antiochus. **depugnavi:** indicative because *cum* here simply denotes the time. Note the intensive force of the prefix in *depugnare*, "to fight to the bitter end."

382. enervavit: "weaken," lit. "to take the sinews out." **curia:** by metonymy for the senate, as *rostra* for the assembly of the people.

383. non clientes: the term included both Cato's supporters in Rome and such foreign nations as retained his services as their representative. Note the emphasis gained by the repetition of the negative *non*.

384. hospites: "foreigners," in Rome who had sometime entertained Cato in their respective native countries. **Nec enim:** "Nor for that matter." For the thought see § 38.

385. mature fieri senem: infinitive after *monet*, where we should rather expect an *ut*-clause. However, Cicero occasionally employs the infinitive after *monere* in the sense "to remark"; see G. 546, 2, R. 1; L. 1954.

386. **Ego vero . . . mallem:** "But as for myself, I had rather that my old age be shorter"; *mallem* implies the non-fulfilment of the wish the time of which in Cato's case is long past (see G. 258, note 1). Cf. *vellem* above.

388. **convenire me:** "to confer with me." **cui fuerim:** subjunctive of characteristic.

§ 33. 388. **At:** introduces the objection of some imaginary opponent. Cf. l. 250, *At memoria minuitur;* l. 331, *At hi quidem mortui iam sunt.*

389. **Ne vos quidem . . . habetis:** "Nor have you indeed." Cf. l. 927, *ne . . . quidem;* also l. 958.

390. **T. Ponti centurionis:** unknown. The centurions were usually conspicuous for their large frame and personal strength.

391. **Moderatio modo virium adsit:** "Let there only be a proper control of one's strength"; *modo* has the force of a proviso, hence the subjunctive.

392. **ne ille:** "assuredly he"; the asseverative *ne* which is usually combined with personal pronouns and demonstratives. Cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 3, 8, *ne ista; De Fin.* 3, 11.

393. **Olympiae per stadium:** Milo (l. 328), according to the legend, carried the animal over the course every day, as it grew. Cf. Quint. 1, 9, 5, *Milo quem vitulum assueverat ferre, taurum ferebat.* For a parallel example of an illustration introduced without any special form, see l. 251, *Themistocles.*

394. **cum . . . sustineret bovem:** equivalent to the participial construction (*sustinens bovem*).

395. **has corporis:** sc. *vires.* **Pythagorae:** the philosopher was a contemporary and fellow citizen of the athlete, both being of Croton, — a circumstance which heightens the effect of the contrast. **malis:** the present subjunctive because the wish is possible of fulfilment and *malis* is less bald than *malles.* Cf. above, l. 386, *mallem.*

396. **utare:** indefinite, an imaginary "you," not Scipio or Laelius: hence subjunctive (G. 263, 2, *a*; B. 356, 3; H. 555; A. & G. 439, *a*). **dum adsit, cum absit:** subjunctive by attraction.

397. **ne requiras:** the general form of prohibition not addressed to a specific person. **nisi forte:** this phrase implies an ironical or absurd supposition. Cf. l. 222, *nisi forte.*

399. **cursus est certus:** on the metaphor see l. 1022. **simplex:** "straight-forward." Life is here compared to a race where the course is direct and run only once.

400. **tempestivitas:** "appropriate quality or character."

401. **ferocitas:** "courage," "high spirit." **gravitas:** "stability."

402. **constantis:** "settled," "established." Cf. l. 926, *constans . . . aetas.*

403. percipi: the figure is that of harvesting, or ingathering of fruit, as indicated both by *percipi* and *maturitas naturale quiddam*. See the citation from Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, 30. **quod . . . debeat:** Subjunctive of characteristic.

§ 34. **404. hospes tuus avitus:** the relation of *hospitium* once established passed on to the children and on down for generations. Thus total strangers were sometimes placed in a position where they had to recognize the sacred bond of that obligation. The tie between the Elder Scipio and Masinissa was very strong, as evidenced by Scipio's cordial reception by the aged Masinissa (see *Somnium Scipionis*, 1). **Masinissa:** king of Numidia. At the outbreak of the First Punic War he was an ally of Carthage and fought against the Scipios in Spain, but later he broke with the Carthaginians and became a loyal ally of the Romans and a warm friend of the Scipios. He died in 149 B. C., the year of Cato's death.

406. omnino non: "not at all."

407. equo: when place where may be regarded in the light of manner, means or instrument, the preposition is omitted. (Cf. *pedibus* above.)

408. capite operto: Abl. of quality.

409. siccitatem: "firmness," "health"; lit. "dryness," i. e., freedom from gross humors, catarrh and the like, and implying a good healthy condition of the body. Cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 5, 99, *Adde siccitatem quae consequitur hanc continentiam in victu.* **officia et munera:** "duties and functions"; a favorite combination with Cicero. See note on l. 348, *officii munus*.

410. Potest igitur: emphatic; "It is possible therefore for exercise and self-control, etc."

CHAPTER XI

412. Ne sint: a formula of concession for the sake of argument, of frequent occurrence in Cicero. Trans.: "Granted that old age is without physical strength."

413. legibus et institutis: "by statute and custom."

414. muneribus iis: "from those duties"; i. e., in reference to military service.

415. non modo: = *non modo non*. Instead of *non modo* (*solum*) *non . . . sed ne-quidem*, the latter *non* is generally omitted when the two negative clauses have a verb in common, the negative of the first clause being supplied by the second; otherwise both negatives are expressed. — G. 482, R. 1. See also B. 343, 2, *a*; L. 1682.

quod non possumus: the antecedent of *quod* is *id* which is the Acc. of the inner object after *cogimur* (see G. 333, 1: B. 176, 2, *b*; A. & G. 390, *c*; H. 409, 1).

§ 35. **416. At:** introduces the objection of an imaginary opponent. Cf. l. 841, where *at* again occurs introducing two consecutive sentences as here.

417. officii aut . . . munus: cf. note on l. 348, *ad omne officii munus*.

419. valetudinis: "health," or rather "feeble health," as denoted by the context.

420. P. Africani filius: son of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (maior). His poor health, coupled with his short life, as the inscription upon his tomb explains, was the reason of his failure to accomplish any achievement worthy of the illustrious name he bore. His epitaph was discovered in the family tomb on the Appian Way (see *Corpus Inscrip. Lat.* I, 33).

421. Quod ni ita fuisset: "And if this had not been so." Cf. 1009, *Quod quidem ni ita se haberet*.

422. alterum . . . lumen: "the second light"; Africanus the Elder was the first. Cf. Verg., *Aen.* 6, 842; Cic., *Pro Balbo*, 34. **illud:** we should rather expect *ille*, but the demonstrative is attracted into the gender of the predicate noun *lumen* (see G. 211, R. 5). Cf. *De Fin.* 2, 22, 70, *Negat Epicurus; hoc enim vestrum lumen est.* **paternam:** "of his father."

425. Resistendum: emphatic, as indicated by position.

426. diligentia: "carefulness," "earnestness."

427. pugnandum: sc. *est*. **tamquam:** correlative to the following *sic*, "just as . . . so." **morbum:** cf. the Latin proverb, *Senectus ipsa est morbus*, — Ter., *Phorm.* 575; see also Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer*, p. 316.

428. habenda ratio valetudinis: "regard must be had for one's health." **utendum:** "one must take."

429. exercitationibus: Moore cites the saying of Cato (Gellius, 11, 2, 6): *Nam vita humana prope uti ferrum est. Si exerceas, conteritur; si non exerceas, tamen robigo interficit.* **tantum cibi:** "only so much food"; restrictive *tantum*. Cf. l. 851, *tantum remanet*, etc.

§ 36. **431. subveniendum est:** "must one give relief to."

432. haec: neuter, referring to *mens* and *animus* (let the pupil indicate the distinction between these words). **tamquam:** "so to say"; apologetic. Cf. l. 68, *quasi*.

433. instilles: indefinite "you." Cf. l. 250, *exerceas*. **Et:** with adverbial force, "even." **quidem:** merely accentuates *corpora*, thereby heightening the contrast with the following clause *animi . . . levantur*.

435. Nam quos ait Caecilius: "For (those) whom Cæcilius means as the foolish old men of the comedy." Note the unusual construction

of two accusatives, direct object and predicative accusative, after *ait*.

436. **comicos**: not "comic," but "of the comedy"; i. e., represented in comedy. (In Roman comedy old men, because of their credulous disposition, are made a stock figure of ridicule.) The line is from Cæcilius's *Epicleros* (The Heiress). The entire couplet is found in the *Laelius*, § 99, *Ut me hodie ante omnis comicos stultos senes versaris atque inlusseris lautissume.* **hos significat credulos**: note the exceptional construction of two accusatives after *significat*, — direct object and predicative Acc. Cf. Nepos, *Ages.* 8, 2, *ut eorum ornatus in his regem neminem significaret;* also *ib.*, *Them.* 2, 7.

437. **dissolutos**: "negligent," "inattentive," "remiss," but not implying necessarily moral turpitude. **quae vitia**: "faults which"; incorporated antecedent.

440. **non proborum**: "of those who are not upright in life." Cicero apparently prefers this expression to the rather harsh *improborum*. **senilis stultitia**:=*stultos senes* in the quotation from Cæcilius.

441. **deliratio**: "dotage," "silliness"; lit. "a going out of the furrow in ploughing" — a rare word. Cf. *De Div.* 2, 43, *O delirationem incredibilem non enim omnis error stultitia est dicenda.*

§ 37. 443. **Appius**: see note on l. 201, *Appi*. **regebat**: the control of the Roman *paterfamilias* over his children was originally supreme and absolute. Even after the sons married and themselves became fathers, or rose to the rank of magistrates including the consulship, they still acknowledged the power and authority of their father in private matters and in the home. See Maine, *Ancient Law*, c. 5.

446. **auctoritatem**: probably the *patria potestas* which a Roman father exercised over his children. **imperium**: the *imperium* was the absolute power with which the *Comitia Curiata* clothed prætors and consuls. The term is here employed in a metaphorical sense in its application to the *paterfamilias*.

447. **vigebat . . . disciplina**: a succinct statement of the family government in the early Roman period when the *patria potestas* was exercised with due legal strictness.

448. **patrius**: "inherited from his ancestors."

§ 38. 448. **Ita**: "only," "under the condition," explained by the following *si*-clause.

450. **si nemini emancipata est**: "if it has not been given up in bondage to anyone"; *emancipare* is primarily a judicial technical term meaning "to put out of the control of the *paterfamilias*, to declare free and independent, to set free." It was also used of the formal

transfer of a piece of property. Cf. *Phil.* 2, 21, 51, *venditum atque emancipatum tribunatum;* also the familiar example from Horace, *Epod.* 9, 12, *emancipatus feminae* (said of Antony).

451. **dominatur in suos:** this conception corresponds with the function of the *paterfamilias* who is characterized in the Digest (50, 19, 195) *paterfamilias appellatur qui in domo dominium habet*, etc.

452. **senile aliquid:** "something of the old man." Cicero apparently approves the sentiment of the proverb quoted in l. 335, *mature fieri senem si diu velis senex esse.*

453. **quod qui sequitur:** "and he who aims at this end"; i. e., a combination of the virtues of youth and old age. Cf. note on l. 25, *cui qui.*

454. **Septimus . . . liber Originum:** the seventh book of Cato's *Origines* detailed the history of Rome down to his own day. See Introduction, Cato's Writings. **est in manibus:** "have on hand," "be engaged upon." Cf. l. 270, *quam in manibus habebat.*

455. **antiquitatis monumenta:** "memorials of ancient times," such as records, inscriptions, etc. Cf. l. 255, *nec sepulcra.*

456. **nunc cum maxime:** "now especially," "just now"; the expression is elliptical.

457. **conficio orationes:** i. e., putting the final touches upon his orations for publication. Cicero tells us (*Brutus* 17, 65) that he was acquainted with 150 speeches of Cato. **augurium:** very rare adjective. Cf. *Ad Fam.* 3, 9, 3; Gell. *Praef.* 13. **ius civile:** perhaps in contrast with *ius augurium* (code of the augurs) and *ius pontificum* (code of the priests) which constitute the religious or sacred law as opposed to the secular or civil law.

458. **Pythagoreorumque more:** the allusion is to the "Golden Verses" of the followers of Pythagoras which that famous philosopher was supposed to have composed. But no doubt the verses are of much later date. Pythagoras's followers are reputed to have asked themselves every evening these questions:

Πῆ παρέβην; τί δ' ἔρεξα; τί μοι δέον οὐκ ἐτελέσθη;

460. **Haec:** rare old form (from *hae* + *ce*) for *hae*. Cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 22, *haec.*

461. **desudans:** note the intensive force of *de-*. Cf. l. 380, *depugnavi.*

463. **Adsum amicis:** in the legal sense of being present with aid or support. **frequens:** "regularly," "usually" On the predicate use see G. 325, R. 6; B. 239. **ultroque adfero:** custom did not prescribe that a Roman senator adhere strictly to the question before the house when he rose to speak in the senate. It was the function of the presiding officer to introduce new business and the senators exercised their parliamentary privilege of bringing up whatever

matter they deemed best, without being ruled out of order. So, Cato, according to the story, no matter what the subject of discussion, invariably closed with the words, *Censeo Carthaginem esse delendam*. See Introduction, Cato.

464. tueor: "support," "maintain."

465. Quas se exsequi nequirem: cf. l. 344, *Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas.*

466. lectulus: a lounge or reading couch on which the student used to recline while reading or writing. Cf. *De Orat.* 3, 5, 17, *in qua (exedra) Crassus lectulo posito recubuisset cumque eum in cogitatione defixum esse sensisset;* Ovid, *Trist.* 1, 11, 37, *Nec, consuete, meum, lectule, corpus habes.*

468. viventi: Dat. of reference with *intellegitur* and *obrepat* both. Trans. "For in the case of a man who, etc., it is not known when old age steals upon him." **sensim sine sensu aetas senescit:** note the alliteration in this passage describing the gradual but imperceptible approach of old age. *Sensim sine sensu*, "imperceptibly without feeling," is a faded oxymoron.

CHAPTER XII

§ 39. 471. quod . . . dicunt: explanatory of *tertia vituperatio.* One should rather expect here *quod careat ut dicunt*, but Cicero employs a more vivid and flexible construction.

472. O praeclarum munus aetatis: *aetatis=senectutis;* for a similar exclamation (epiphonema) after the fourth charge against old age, see l. 820.

473. id aufert: an implied oxymoron, since it is the nature of a gift ordinarily to enrich, not to rob the recipient.

474. Accipite: "observe," "hear"; used to introduce a quotation.

475. Archytae Tarentini: Archytas of Tarentum, the celebrated Pythagorean philosopher, mathematician and statesman, who lived 400–365 B. C. See Horace's allusion to him in his well-known ode (I, 28); also *Laelius*, § 88.

476. tradita est: "related to me"; i. e., by his host Nearchus (l. 500). **cum . . . cum Q. Maximo:** cf. l. 117, *Ego Q. Maximus.*

477. capitaliorem: "more dangerous, deadly." Cf. *In Cat.* 2, 3, *hostis capitalis; Lael.* § 2, *capitali odio.*

479. cuius voluptatis avidae: "since in their eagerness for this pleasure"; causal relative with the antecedent repeated for the sake of clearness.

480. ad potiendum: "to the attainment of it"; i. e., pleasure. Cf. 48, *etiamsi non abunde potitur..*

§ 40. **481. cum hostibus:** attributive prepositional phrase. Such phrases are not of frequent occurrence and are found mainly with *cum* and *sine*. Cf. l. 92, *senectutem sine querela*.

483. scelus: stronger than *facinus*, which is here used in its primary sense of "act" or "deed" simply.

484. impelleret: sc. *homines*.

485. flagitium: especially a shameful or disgraceful deed. **excitari:** denotes the initial impulse without accessory stimulus. **nisi:** "save," "than."

486. sive quis deus: *quis* is here = *aliquis*, "or some god."

487. muneri ac dono: hardly to be distinguished in meaning, except that *donum* is generic whereas *munus* is specific.

488. tam esse inimicum: note that the verb *esse* intervenes between *inimicum* and its modifier *tam*.

§ 41. **489. temperantiae:** "sobriety," "moderation"; Dat. of possession. **neque omnino . . . consistere:** "and virtue can secure no foothold at all under the rule of pleasure."

491. fingere animo: "to suppose," "to imagine"; lit. "to form in the mind." **tanta incitatum . . . maxima:** "the greatest pleasure that could possibly be experienced (taken in)"; note the emphatic position of *maxima* at the end of its clause. Cf. *Laelius*, § 74, *tanta quanta maxima potest esse distantia*.

493. tam diu dum: unusual phrase for the regular *quam diu* (*tam diu quam diu*). Cf. *In Cat.* 3, 16, *sed tam diu dum lego; De Off.* 2, 12, 43, *Gracchus tam diu laudabitur dum memoria rerum Romanorum manebit; Ad Att.* 9, 6, 5; *Ad Fam.* 9, 12, 1.

494. nihil agitare mente . . . consequi posset: "he could pursue nothing in thought, follow up nothing in reason, nothing in imagination." Note the juxtaposition of *mente*, *ratione* and *cogitatione*, — words almost synonymous — which is quite characteristic of Cicero's style.

496. si quidem: like *quandoquidem*, "since indeed." Cf. l. 692, *si quidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est; Lael.* § 89, *Molesta veritas si quidem ex ea nascitur odium*. (See G. 595, R. 5; L. 2019; H. 574, 1.)

497. maior atque longior: "too intense and long-continued." Some editors read *longinquior* for *longior* (see Crit. App.). According to Krebs, *Antibarbarus*, 6th ed. 2, p. 31, *longus* in the sense "long-continued" occurs nowhere else in Cicero except with words of time. We should rather expect here superlatives in accordance with *quanta percipi posset maxima* above.

498. C. Pontio: Gaius Pontius Herennius, a Samnite, father of Gaius Pontius Telesinus, who defeated the Romans and sent them "under the yoke" at the battle of the Caudine Forks, 321 B. C. (see ***Caudino proelio***, next line).

499. **Sp. Postumius:** Sp. Postumius Albinus, consul 334 and 321 B. C., censor 332 B. C., defeated in the battle of the Caudine Forks. **T. Veturius:** T. Veturius Calvinus, consul 321 B. C., during which year he shared with his colleague the disastrous defeat of the Caudine Forks.

500. **Archytam:** see 39. **Nearchus:** a Pythagorean philosopher of Tarentum and a friend of Cato (Plutarch, *Cato* 2). After the capture of Tarentum in 209 B. C., Cato spent some time with Nearchus as his guest (*hospes noster*).

502. **permanserat:** the Tarentines surrendered the city to Hannibal, in 212 B. C., who held it for three years. But Nearchus remained loyal to Rome during the three years' siege. Reread §§ 10 and 11. **cum . . . interfuisset:** "Plato the Athenian having been present at the conversation"; circumstantial *cum*-clause, to be taken with *locutum* (*esse*), used in place of the Abl. Abs., the employment of which construction was precluded by the wanting perfect participle. For similar examples see l. 209, *cum interfuissent;* also ll. 357, 608, 686, etc. Cf. Hale, *Cum-Constructions*, pp. 184–189. **quem Tarentum venisse:** scholars generally do not credit this record that Plato in 349 B. C., the year here referred to, only two years before his death, made still another visit to the West. His last visit to the great cities of the West, it is generally accepted, was made about 361 B. C.

504. **L. Camillo:** Lucius Furius Camillus, son of the celebrated Camillus, dictator in 350 B. C. and consul in 349, participated in the repelling of the Gauls in the *ager Pomptinus*. **Ap. Claudio:** Appius Claudius Crassinus Regillensis, consul 349 B. C., but died early in the year.

§ 42. 505. **Quorsus hoc:** understand some verb of saying such as *dixi*. Cf. l. 157, *Quorsum ;* l. 536, *quorsus*. **ut intellegeretis:** imperfect (though the English idiom requires the present) because regarded as dependent upon *dixi* (to be supplied). This also determines the sequence of the following subordinate subjunctives.

506. **magnam . . . habendam:** "great gratitude should be felt toward old age." To express gratitude is *gratiam agere;* to return thanks, to show one's gratitude is *gratiam referre*.

507. **quae efficeret:** "since it makes"; causal relative.

508. **liberet:** "to be pleasant, agreeable."

509. **ut ita dicam:** "as it were"; apologetic, to tone down the rather uncommon metaphor involved in *mentis . . . praestringit oculos*.

511. **Invitus feci ut eicerem:** a somewhat common periphrasis for *invitus eieci* with especial emphasis on *invitus*. Trans.: "It was against my will that I removed." As censor Cato had the authority

to degrade even a senator for disreputable conduct. **T. Flaminini:** cf. note on l. 1. **L. Flamininum:** L. Quinctius Flamininus, brother of T. Flamininus, consul 192 B. C., served as prætor under his brother in the Macedonian War, expelled from the senate during Cato's censorship in 184 B. C.

512. **septem:** more accurately, 8 years (192–184 B. C.). **postquam consul fuisset:** subjunctive by attraction.

513. **notandam . . . libidinem:** "his wantonness should be branded"; *notare* is a technical term to signify the degradation officially inflicted upon a citizen by the censor for disreputable conduct.

514. **cum esset consul in Gallia:** "when he was in Gaul (i. e., cis-Alpine Gaul) during his consulship." **in convivio a scorto:** of the two accounts of this incident recorded by Livy, Cicero follows the account of the old annalist Valerius Antias (see Livy 39, 43, 1–3). The other version is contained in Cato's oration (Livy 39, 42, 8–12). On Livy's authority we are informed that the *scortum* here referred to was not a woman, but a disreputable young fellow who was associated with Flamininus in vice and that Flamininus slew with his own hand the man — a Boian — who had fled to him for protection.

516. **qui proximus ante me:** this establishes the date about 189 B. C., five years before the censorship of Cato.

517. **Flacco:** Valerius Flaccus, devoted friend of Cato, and his colleague both in the consulship (195 B. C.) and in the censorship (184 B. C.).

519. **quae . . . dedecus:** "since with his personal shame it involved the disgrace to his high command." As governor of cis-Alpine Gaul, Flamininus was of course the official representative of the Roman government in that district. *Coniungeret* is Subjunct. of cause or characteristic.

CHAPTER XIII

§ 43. 521. **porro:** refers, not to the future as usual, but to the past. **solitum:** sc. *esse*.

522. **C. Fabricium:** see note on l. 199.

523. **Cinea:** Cineas, the famous Greek diplomat whom Pyrrhus sent to Rome twice to negotiate terms of peace with the senate. His mission was unsuccessful. He was a noted orator and a pupil of Demosthenes. Cf. l. 202, *ad pacem cum Pyrrho*, etc. **quendam:** viz. Epicurus, the founder of the Epicurean school of philosophy. He was born at Samos 342 B. C. and taught at Athens the greater part of his life, dying in 270 B. C. Somehow, despite Lucretius's brilliant

poem *De Rerum Natura*. Epicurus's teachings were for the most part misunderstood by the Romans, who believed with Cicero that Epicurus held sensual pleasure to be the chief end and aim of life. On the contrary, Epicurus taught that happiness consisted in absolute freedom from all disturbing emotions, and this intellectual pleasure (ἡδονή) he accepted as the *summum bonum*. But the popular misconception finally prevailed and Epicureanism came to signify little more than the gratification of the physical appetites — sensual pleasures — which circumstance brought the system into disrepute.

524. **qui . . . profitetur:** "who declared himself a philosopher." **eumque:** "and yet he." Cf. note on l. 167, *vixitque*.

525. **faceremus:** sequence is determined by *audivi* (l. 520).

526. **M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium:** see note on l. 199.

527. **ut id Samnitibus . . . persuaderetur:** *id* is here the neuter subject corresponding to the Inner Object. The intransitive verb in the passive (*persuaderetur*) is used impersonally and the Dative (*Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho*) is retained as in active voice (see G. 217). Some grammarians explain *id* in such a case as the present as an adverbial accus. of respect or extent.

529. **vixerat . . . cum:** i. e., had lived on intimate terms, not in the house with him, which would be expressed *habitare apud* (*eum*). **P. Decio:** Publius Decimus Mus, consul 312, 308, 297 and 295 B. C., censor 304 B. C., deliberately sacrificed his life for his country at Sentinum (295 B. C.), where the Romans defeated the combined forces of the Gauls, Samnites and Etruscans. His father had sacrificed his life in a similar manner in 340 B. C. at the battle of Veseris, near Vesuvius, fought against the Latins and Campanians.

530. **eum:** i. e., Curius, whose first consulship was in 290 B. C. **se . . . devoverat:** the formal act of "devoting oneself" (*devotio*) here referred to consisted in girding on the *cinctus Gabinus* and riding on a spirited charger to certain death in the midst of the enemy. Such an act was supposed to propitiate the gods of the lower world and to ensure victory. For the incident here mentioned, see Livy 10, 28, 13, also *ib.* 8, 9, 6–8. Cf. l. 910, *Decios*. **norat . . . norat:** note the effectiveness of omitting the conjunction (anaphora).

532. **cum . . . tum:**=*et . . . et*. **quem dico:** "whom I speak of"; i. e., Decius.

534. **sua sponte:** "for its own sake"; i. e., as an end itself without reference to whatever pleasure or sorrow might follow. **quod . . . peteretur . . . quodque . . . sequeretur:** "to be sought after and for all the best men to pursue"; relative clauses of characteristic and so original subjunctives regardless of context.

§ 44. **536. Quorsus:** there is an ellipsis of the verb here as in Il. 157, 505, etc.

537. vituperatio: "charge," not implying real blame necessarily. Cf. I. 471, *tertia vituperatio.*

538. quod: "the fact that," as in I. 471, *quod.*

539. caret . . . caret: with slight change of meaning as the context denotes, — "abstains from feasts, etc., . . . enjoys immunity from wine-bibbing, indigestion and sleeplessness."

541. aliquid dandum est: "some allowance must be made."

542. divine: not "divinely," but "admirably." **escam malorum:** "a bait for the wicked." Cf. Plato, *Timaeus* 69 D, ἡδονὴν μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ ; also Cic., *Hor. Frag.* 74, *voluptates corporis quae vere graviter et a Platone dictae sunt illecebrae esse atque escae malorum.*

543. videlicet: "it is clear," "manifestly."

545. C. Duilium: consul 260 B. C., in which year he defeated the Carthaginian fleet off the little town of Mylæ on the northern coast of Sicily.

546. M. f.: abbreviation for *Marci filium.* It was a common practice in Roman inscriptions to add, as in the present case, the name of the father to facilitate identification. **primus devicerat:** Duilius's victory was the first naval battle the Romans won over the Carthaginians, and the event was perpetuated by a column erected in the Forum and adorned with the bronze beaks of the captured ships (*columna rostrata*). Upon this column was also set up an inscription an ancient copy of which is preserved on the Capitol. Cf. Val. Max. 3, 6, 4, *Duilius qui primus navalem triumphum ex Poenis rettulit quotiescumque epulaturus erat ad funalem cereum praecunte tibicine et tibiis a cena domum reverti solitus est.*

547. senem: Duilius was doubtless an old man when Cato was a mere boy (*puer*).

548. cereo funali: "the torch light"; lit. "a wax taper or torch, such as the Romans used in torch-light processions." **privatus:** "as a private individual"; i. e., one who is not a magistrate and holding a public office. It was only magistrates who enjoyed the honor of being escorted home from a feast by a taper-bearer and a flute-player (see Servius's note on Verg., *Aen.* 1, 727).

549. sumpserat: this record of Cicero, who implies that Duilius as a private citizen without any precedent (*nullo exemplo*) assumed the honor here mentioned, is in direct conflict with Livy, who affirms that this was a privilege conferred upon the hero of Mylæ (Livy, *Per.* 17, *C. Duilius primus omnium Romanorum ducum navalis victoriae duxit triumphum, ob quam causam ei perpetuus quoque honos habitus est ut revertenti a cena tibicine canente funale praeferretur*). Note

the digression here occasioned by the mention of Duilius as an example of an old man who could enjoy a banquet. Similar digressions occur in 10, 26, 56. Critics have commented on Cicero's "didactic digressions" (see Hendrickson, *American Journal of Philology*, 19, 291).

550. alios: understand some such verb as *commemoro;* this is an example of *revocatio.* Cf. l. 36, *Sed quid opus est plura?*

§ 45. **550. Primum:** we should rather expect this to be followed by *deinde*, but, as often, the second element is not expressed, and the author introduces the second point with *Ego . . . quoque* (46).

551. sodales: applied usually to a member of a corporation, fraternity, society, college, etc. Cf. Gaius, *Digest* 47, 22, 4, *Sodales sunt, qui eiusdem collegi sunt quam Graeci ἑταιρίαν vocant.* Here the organization seems to have had as the chief object of its existence the maintenance of a special ritual; and feasting was a recognized feature of this brotherhood as of all similar institutions in ancient Rome. Cf. Mommsen, *De Collegiis et Sodaliciis Romanis.* **me quaestore:** i. e., in the year 204 B. C.

552. Idaeis: so called because the original home of the Cybele cult was Mount Ida in the Troad, where was erected a fine temple to that goddess. The meteoric stone, the fancied image of Cybele, which the Sibylline verse (see Livy 29, 10, 4–5) commanded to be brought to Rome during the Hannibalic War before Hannibal could be driven out of Italy, came, however, from Pessinus in Gallatia. This was the introduction of the Cybele cult at Rome.

552. Magnae Matris: i. e., Cybele, the great mother of the gods whose cult was the first of any Asiatic deity to be introduced at Rome. When (in 204 B. C.) the ambassadors sent to Attalus, king of Pergamon, to bring the goddess to Rome arrived at Ostia with their sacred charge, the oracle designated Scipio Nasica as the best man (*vir optimus in civitate*) to receive the goddess till a suitable temple could be erected for her. The ruins of this temple, it is interesting to observe, have recently been identified on the western side of the Palatine. **Epulabar:** the feast of the *sodalitas* Cato here refers to probably occurred in April at the Megalensian games (*ludi Megalenses*), which were named in honor of Cybele (from her Greek name μεγάλη μήτηρ).

553. igitur: marks the transition to the main thread of the narrative after the digression of the parenthesis. **omnino modice:** "with moderation, to be sure."

554. aetatis: "of that period of life," i. e., youth.

557. metiebar: Cato derived as much or more enjoyment from social intercourse with his friends than from almost any other source. Cf. l. 525, *ad voluptatem esse referenda.* **accubationem epularem:** "a reclining at a banquet"; both rare words. See Lexicon. The

guests at a Roman dinner used to recline on couches (*lecti*) of which there were three arranged on three sides of the table, the fourth side being open for the servants to serve. The couches were designated *summus*, *medius* and *imus* (*lectus*). The cup going from left to right always was passed from the *summus* to the *medius* and then to the *imus*. **adhibetur:** "is employed," "engaged in."

558. vitae coniunctionem haberet: "it brings about a living in common"; lit. "a contact of life with life."

560. compotationem: "a drinking together," called *συμπόσιον* by the Greeks. **concenationem:** "a supping together," called *σύνδειπνον* by the Greeks. **tum . . . tum:** "at one time . . . at another," "now . . . now."

561. in eo genere minimum est: "is of least moment in matters of that sort." **id:** i. e., the mere eating and drinking.

CHAPTER XIV.

§ 46. **563. tempestivis . . . conviviis:** "early banquets"; i. e., those beginning before the proper time (3 P. M.), while it is yet day, and continuing till a late hour of the night. Such feasts lasting through so many hours came to be associated with dissolute society. **quoque:** cf. l. 550, *primum*.

564. qui pauci admodum: = *quorum pauci admodum*. Cf. such expressions as *qui omnes*, *qui nulli*, where the nominative plural is the regular construction in Latin corresponding to the English idiom of the partitive genitive. On *admodum* cf. l. 121, *non admodum grandem natu*. **cum vestra etiam aetate:** "with those also of your age."

565. habeoque: cf. l. 506, *magnam habendam senectuti gratiam*.

566. auxit . . . sustulit: attributive relatives, with causal force (*quae* = *ea enim*). See G. 626. Note the omission of the adversative conjunction here (asyndeton), "has increased for me the intense desire for conversation, but taken away that for." **ista:** *iste* does not necessarily imply contempt, as it does not here. It simply refers to those of the same period of life as Scipio and Lælius. Cf. below, *ne in istis quidem;* also l. 588, *Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus*, etc.

568. ne . . . videar: "that I may not seem to be declaring war altogether on pleasure."

569. ne . . . quidem: simply reinforces the negative idea by repetition. Cf. l. 108, *Nec enim . . . senectus potest ne sapienti quidem nec insipienti*, etc.; l. 324, *Nec . . . non plus quam*, etc. **magisteria:** refers to the ancient Roman custom of Greek origin, of having one preside at a banquet and direct matters. Such a one was called *arbiter bibendi* (cf. Horace, *Ode* 1, 4, 18; *ib.* 2, 7, 25), or *magister convivii* (cf. Varro, *L. L.* 5, 122, *Praeterea in poculis erant paterae ab eo quod latum Latini ita dicunt dictae. Hisce etiam nunc in publico convivio antiquitatis retinendae causa; quom, magistri*

fiunt, potio circumfertur; et in sacrificando deis hoc poculo magistratus dat deo vinum). Our toast-master is somewhat analogous to this functionary.

572. **is sermo . . . in poculo:** "that kind of conversation which beginning at the head of the table after the manner of our fathers is engaged in over the wine cup." **a summo:** lit. "from the top." See note on l. 557, above.

573. **minuta atque rorantia:** *rorantia* (*pocula*) is generally interpreted to mean cups "which yield the wine drop by drop" (Lewis and Short's Lexicon). Cicero uses the term to translate the Greek μικραῖς κύλιξι . . . ἐπιψακάζωσιν (Xenophon, *Symposium* 2, 26). In view of this fact coupled with the usual sense of *roro*, "to bedew," "to drop," the idea here seems to be "small cups containing but little wine."

574. **refrigeratio aestate:** "a cool place in summer"; the word occurs only in this passage in Cicero and very rarely elsewhere. Note the unusual attributive use of the ablative *aestate* corresponding to *hibernus* ("in winter") as the modifier of *sol* and *ignis*.

575. **in Sabinis:** "on my Sabine estate"; lit. "among the Sabines." An estate was often designated after the people of the district, as *Tusci mei*, "my Tuscan estate." See Pliny, *Ep.* 5, 6, 1; Hor., *Ode* 2, 18, 14.

576. **convivium vicinorum . . . compleo:** "I fill out the number with my neighbors"; *compleo*, like other verbs of filling, is regularly construed with the Abl., but the Gen. also occurs. However, here *vicinorum* may depend on *convivium* (Reid). **ad multam noctem . . . possumus:** "to as late an hour of the night as possible."

§ 47. 578. **At:** the view of an imaginary opponent. Cf. ll. 250, 801, etc. **quasi titillatio:** the apologetic *quasi* because *titillatio* (lit. "tickling") is here employed in a rather unusual sense to translate the Greek γαργαλισμός of Epicurus. Cf. *De Nat. Deo.* 1, 113, *voluptates quibus quasi titillatio sensibus adhibetur*.

579. **desideratio:** "desiring"; a very rare word, occurring only in the present passage in Cicero and only in one other Latin author (Vitruvius, *Praef.* 8, employs it in a different sense). See Crit. App.

580. **Bene:** sc. *dixit*. *Bene* is here emphatic as its position denotes.

582. **utereturne rebus veneriis:** "whether he found pleasure in love." **Di meliora:** sc. *duint* (archaic for *dent*), "God forbid!" This story of Sophocles Cicero borrowed from Plato (*Republic* 1, 329 C), who uses Εὐφήμει.

583. **istinc:** in reference to the words *rebus veneriis* above. **domino agresti:** corresponds to Plato's words ἄγριον δεσπότην (*Rep.* I, 329 C).

586. **Quamquam:** "and yet"; see note on l. 7, *quamquam*.

587. **hoc non desiderare:** "this absence of desire"; *hoc* modifies the infinitive phrase *non desiderare*. Cf. *Brut.* 140, *ipsum Latine loqui est in magna laude ponendum*. On the occasional use of a neuter attributive of an infinitive, see G. 421, N. 2; L. 2215.

§ 48. 588. **istis:** cf. l. 567, *ista*. **bona aetas:** "youth"; lit. "good time of life," as *mala aetas* is "old age."

589. **ut diximus:** implied in §§ 45 and 46.

590. **potitur:** apparently to avoid the repetition of *fruitur*. Cf. l. 480, *potiendum*.

591. **Turpione Ambivio:** L. Ambivius Turpio, a noted actor and manager of Terence's time. He produced several of Terence's plays, often himself taking part. In case of omission of the prænomen, the cognomen was sometimes put before the nomen as here. Such practice, though rare in Cicero, is quite common in Silver writers, especially Tacitus.

592. **prima cavea:** "the front tiers of seats in the theatre." The orchestra was occupied by the senators and the next fourteen rows behind these were occupied by the knights. It was this part of the theatre that was called *prima cavea*. It is to be noted, however, that in Cato's time the theatres were only temporary structures of wood and probably contained no seats, the audience being accustomed to stand during the entire performance. Cicero's reference here therefore appears to be an anachronism.

593. **qui in ultima:** understand *spectat* and *ultima*, "who looks on from the rear of the theatre." **propter:** "near by"; adverbial, opposed to *procul* below.

595. **tantum quantum sat est:**=*satis*, "sufficiently," modifying *delectatur*.

§ 49. 595. **illa:** explained by the following infinitives, which *illud* is frequently used to anticipate.

596. **quanti:** "how excellent a thing it is"; Gen. of value. **tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis:** "having completed the time (lit. campaigns) of lust, as it were." The bold figure is toned down by the apologetic *tamquam*. Such military figures were of more frequent occurrence in early Latin than in Cicero's time.

598. **secumque . . . vivere:** *ut dicitur* indicates that the expression was a proverb.

599. **aliquod tamquam pabulum:** the apologetic *tamquam*, "as it were," like *quasi* (l. 578), tones down the rather harsh metaphorical meaning of *pabulum* here. Cf. *Acad.* 2, 127, *animorum ingeniorumque naturale quoddam quasi pabulum*.

600. **otiosa:** "free from public affairs"; hence affording opportunity to indulge one's literary tastes. **Vivere:** the manuscripts are here corrupt. See Crit. App. **videbamus:** on the tense

see l. 616, and *Laelius*, § 37, *Gracchum rem publicam vexantem ab amicis derelictum videbamus*. See also l. 972, *intellegebatis*.

601. **C. Gallum:** Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, consul 166 B. C., a famous Roman astronomer who enjoyed the distinction of being the first Roman to predict an eclipse. This he did on the eve of the battle of Pydna (168 B. C.) while serving as military tribune under L. Æmilius in the campaign against Perseus, and thus he saved the Roman army from panic (see Livy, 44, 37, 5).

602. **patris tui:** viz. Æmilius Paulus. On the point of their intimacy, see *Rep.* 1, 23.

603. **aliquid describere:** used specifically of drawing diagrams, mathematical or astronomical figures, charts, etc. **oppressit:** "took by surprise." Cf. Cæs. (Hirtius), *B. G.* 8, 14, *oppressi luce copias instruunt;* also Livy, 26, 12. **cum mane coepisset:** the *cum*-clause is employed here as a substitute for the (missing) participial construction which would be strictly parallel with *ingressum* above. Cf. l. 209, *cum . . . interfuissent;* also l. 502, *cum . . . interfuisset Plato*.

604. **defectiones . . . multo ante:** there is no record of any other prediction of an eclipse by Gallus than that mentioned above. Cicero speaks of eclipses being predicted many years in advance in his time; see *De Div.* 2, 17, *solis defectiones itemque lunae praedicuntur in multos annos; De Nat. Deo.* 2, 153; *Rep.* 1, 14.

§ 50. 605. **levioribus:** according to the Roman view, no occupation other than public service — not even philosophy or the investigation of nature — was regarded as quite worthy of a man's most serious efforts.

606. **acutis:** i. e., such pursuits as required an acute mind. **bello Punico Naevius:** in reference to Nævius's early epic, in Saturnian verse, on the First Punic War, in seven books, only a few fragments of which survive. On Nævius see note on l. 245.

607. **Truculento Plautus . . . Pseudolo:** T. Maccius Plautus (born at Sarsina in Umbria, 254–184 B. C.) was the most celebrated of the Roman comic poets. Of the numerous plays once attributed to him, all adaptations from Greek originals, about twenty genuine ones have come down to us. Of these the *Truculentus* is regarded as somewhat inferior and the *Pseudolus*, presented at the dedication of the temple of Cybele (see l. 552) in 191 B. C., ranks among his best plays.

608. **senem:** "when an old man"; pred. apposition. **Livium:** Livius Andronicus, a Greek of Tarentum (284–204 B. C.), is esteemed the founder of Roman literature. He came to Rome as a slave in 272, after the capture of his native city Tarentum. Later he was given his freedom, taking his name from his master Livius. He began to write plays and in 240 produced the first play at Rome.

Apart from his comedies and tragedies, his most noteworthy achievement was his translation of the Odyssey into the native Saturnian metre. On this reference of Cicero to Livius see Hendrickson's art. "A Pre-Varronian Chapter of Roman Literary History," *American Journal of Philology*, 19, 291. **cum . . . docuisset:** "having brought out a play"; another example of the circumstantial *cum*-clause used as a periphrasis for the wanting perfect participle. *Docere*, like διδάσκειν, implies that Livius had to instruct his performers.

609. Centone Tuditanoque: i. e., the year 240 B. C.

611. P. Licini Crassi: see note on l. 335. **pontificii et civilis iuris:** see note on l. 260, *iuris consulti;* also l. 462, *ius . . . civile.*

612. huius P. Scipionis: the present Scipio, i. e., Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, grandson of Cn. Scipio Calvus, consul 162 and 155 B. C., censor 159. On this use of *hic* see 14, *hi consules;* also Rep. 1, 14, *Africanus hic.* **his paucis diebus:** "within the last few days," "a few days ago."

614. flagrantes senes: "enthusiastic as old men"; *senes* is predicative apposition like *senem* above. **M. Cethegum:** see note on l. 127.

615. Suadae medullam: "the marrow or quintessence of eloquence." *Suadae* translates the Greek Πειθώ in the original, and the quotation is from the *Annales* of Ennius contained in the *Brutus*, § 58, *Flos delibatus populi Suadaeque medulla.*

616. exerceri: reflexive (middle) sense.

619. haec quidem: summarizes before passing to new subject and heightens the contrast with what is to follow. Note the repetition of *quidem* in the next clause.

621. honestum sit: "reflects credit upon him."

622. ut ante dixi: see note, § 26.

CHAPTER XV

§ 51. **626. sapientis:** "philosopher," especially a Stoic to whom *sapiens* suggested the ideal philosopher.

627. rationem cum: "an account with"; a phrase from commercial parlance as *sine usura reddit*, "returns with interest," likewise is. The military phrase *imperium* seems awkward in this connection. *Terra*, conceived as the banker with whom the account is kept, is here personified for the sake of vividness.

629. alias: "occasionally," corresponds to the following *plerumque*, which is used instead of the correlative *alias*.

630. Quamquam: "and yet"; corrective as in l. 586.

631. vis ac natura: "natural power"; hendiadys. Cf. *Orat.* 31, 112, *eloquentiae vis et natura; Fin.* 1, 50, *vis ac natura rerum.* **Quae:** refers to *terra*.

632. gremio mollito ac subacto: "in her bosom ploughed up and

softened." *Subigere* signifies "to turn up from below," "to break up," in agricultural parlance. Cf. Cato, *De Agricultura*, 45, 1, *Locus bipalio subactus siet beneque terra siet;* also *ib.* 161, *Locum subigere oportet bene.*

633. **occaecatum:** "hidden, concealed." **occatio:** "harrowing," *occare*, "to harrow," which has no etymological connection with *occaecare*, "to conceal." Such a derivation as Cicero here suggests implying that the Romans called the process of harrowing *occatio* because it concealed (*occaecavit*) the seed in the soil furnishes an interesting illustration of what in the language of the pedant is termed a *lucus a non lucendo*. But Festus the grammarian (Qu. IX, 29, p. 181, M.) informs us that Cicero hardly intended this to be taken seriously. Columella says that a field was badly ploughed that required harrowing after the seed was sown — *Nam veteres Romani dixerunt male subactum agrum qui satis frugibus occandus fit* (*De Re Rust.* 2, 4, 2). **quae . . . nominata:** Fem. because attracted into the gender of the predicate noun *occatio*.

634. **vapore et compressu suo:** "with the warmth of her pressure"; hendiadys. *Compressu* is a rare word found only in this form and occurring nowhere else in Cicero (ἅπαξ λεγόμενον).

635. **diffundit et elicit:** "causes to come forth and to spread out." **herbescentem . . . viriditatem:** "growing into green blades"; lit. "a greenness growing into blades." *Herbescere* is of rare occurrence.

636. **culmoque erecta geniculato:** "and raising itself by means of its jointed stem"; *erecta* is reflexive (middle); *geniculato* (from *geniculo*, "to bend the knee") suggests the idea of knots or joints.

637. **vaginis iam quasi pubescens:** "in sheaths already about to come into development, so to say." Note the bold use of *pubescens*, strictly applicable to man, but here applied to plants; hence the apologetic *quasi*. Cf. Varro, *R. R.* 1, 48, 1, *aristam et etiam primitus spica cum oritur, vaginam.*

638. **fundit frugem . . . structam:** "produces the grain formed with the regularity of the ear." Collateral forms of *spica* (Fem.) are *spicus* (masc.) and *spicum* (neu.) of which Cicero here employs the latter.

§ 52. 640. **Quid . . . commemorem:** a formula of transition frequently employed in passing to a new subject. The rhetorical figure is termed *praeteritio* (a passing over). Cf. ll. 549, 666, 711, etc. **ortus, satus, incrementa:** plural because of repeated instances. The English idiom requires the singular.

641. **ut . . . noscatis:** final, expressing the purpose of Cato's speaking of his pleasure in the cultivation of the vine, — "I say this that you may know, etc." See G. 545, R. 3.

643. **vim ipsam:** "the natural energy." **omnium:** i. e., all

things, *omnium* being neuter. The Latin did not possess a single word for "plants," hence the circumlocution involved in *quae . . . terra*.

644. acini vinaceo: "a grape-seed."

646. procreet: subjunctive of characteristic. **Malleoli:** "a mallet-shoot" for planting, so called because the young shoot is cut from the old growth of the vine in the shape of a mallet or hammer. Cf. Columella, *De Re Rus.* 3, 6, 3, *Malleolus novellus est palmes innatus prioris anni flagello.* **plantae:** "sprouts" from the trunk near the roots. **sarmenta:** "slips" cut from the branches.

647. viviradices: "quicksets," i. e., cuttings already rooted and ready to transplant. Cf. Cato, *De Agr.* 33, 3, *si vinea a vite calva erit sulcos interponito ibique viviradicem serito;* also Varro, *R. R.* 1, 35, 1, *haec eadem . . . viviradix;* Columella, *De Re Rus.* 3, 14, 2, *Sationis autem duo genera, malleoli vel viviradicis, quod utrumque ab agricolis usurpatur, et in provinciis magis malleoli, neque enim seminariis student, nec usum habent faciendae viviradicis.* **propagines:** "layers," i. e., a shoot not severed from the mother-vine, but which, coming in contact with the earth, has struck root. Cf. Verg., *Georg.* 2, 26, *Silvarumque aliae pressos propaginis arcus Expectant.* **nonne efficiunt ut . . . delectent:** a periphrasis for *nonne delectant.* Cf. note on l. 511, *Invitus feci ut . . . dicerem.* **cum admiratione:** i. e., strike one with delight and admiration.

649. eadem: i. e., the vine. Cf. l. 51, *eandem;* also ll. 839 and 869, *idem.*

650. claviculis: "tendrils." Cf. *Nat. Deo.* 2, 120, *vites sic claviculis;* also Col. 4, 6, 2.

651. ferro: "with the knife."

652. ars agricolarum: abstract for concrete. **sarmentis:** cf. Columella, *De Re Rus.* 3, 17, 4, *qua nascitur materia nova resecarunt atque ita cum suo capitulo sarmentum depresserunt.*

653. nimia: "too much"; modifies *vitis.*

§ 53. **653. ineunte vere:** the Roman vine-growers preferred the spring to the autumn pruning. Cf. Columella, *De Re Rus.* 4, 10, 1, *Putandi autem duo sunt tempora; melius autem, ut Mago, verumni antequam surculus progerminet,* etc.

654. iis: i. e., those shoots (*sarmentis*) left after the pruning. **tamquam ad articulos:** "about the joints, so to speak"; the apologetic *tamquam* because *articulus* is properly applied only to the joints of an animal and is very rarely used of a plant, as here.

655. ea quae: for *id quod,* which is changed as the result of attraction of the predicate noun. **gemma:** "bud," "eye," — the primary meaning of the word; "gem," "jewel" is the secondary and figurative meaning.

658. pampinis: "the foliage of the vine." **et . . . defendit:** used for the sake of balance corresponding to *nec . . . caret.*

659. fructu . . . aspectu: Abl. of specification, — "more delightful to enjoy and fairer to look upon." Cf. l. 714, *nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius.* Note the active sense of *laetius*, "joyous in appearance." Cf. Verg., *Georg.* 1, 1, *lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus; ib., Aen.* 1, 275, *ferarum exuviis laeta.*

661. ut ante dixi: cf. l. 630, *non fructus modo, sed etiam*, etc.

662. adminiculorum ordines: "rows of props or poles"; *adminiculum* (*ad manus*) primarily signifies "that on which the hand may rest," "a support."

662. capitum iugatio: the *capita* (Columella, 3, 10, 1, *extrema pars eius caput vitis appellatur*, etc.; see also Vergil, *Georg.* 2, 355) denoted the top branches of the vines; hence the phrase means "the linking together of the top branches," perhaps to form an arbor. However, some editors take the phrase to mean "the joining of the tops of the stakes by cross-pieces," — a method still employed in Italy. But there are various methods of supporting the vines still in use in different parts of Italy, as every traveller has observed. Quite a familiar method is to train the vines on trimmed trees, such as poplar, maple, elm, etc. On *iugatio* cf. Varro, *R. R.* 1, 8, 1, *quibus stat rectis vinea dicuntur pedamenta quae transversa iunguntur, iuga; ab eo quoque vinea iugatae.* **religatio:** refers to "tying up the vines." The word is nowhere else recorded.

663. propagatio: refers to propagating the vines by making them take root on the ground — "layering."

664. aliorum immissio: "a giving free rein to others" to grow. The figure is drawn from the custom of urging on a horse in racing. **Quid . . . proferam:** on this figure of *praeteritio*, see note on l. 640, *Quid . . . commemorem?* **repastinationesque:** lit. "the digging up again" with the *pastinum*, which was a two-pronged fork. Observe the plurals denoting repeated acts (*irrigationes, fossiones*, etc.).

§ 54. **666. Quid . . . loquar:** cf. note on l. 640, *Quid . . . commemorem?* **stercorandi:** the Romans recognized many divinities, among them one that was supposed to preside over manuring and called by a variety of names, — Sterculius, Sterculus, Stercutius, Stercutus, etc. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 17, 50, *Stercuto Fauni filio.* **in eo libro:** i. e., *De Agri Cultura*, Cato's treatise on farming, which is still extant. Chapter 28 of this book deals with the subject of manuring.

667. de rebus rusticis: the book was entitled *De Agri Cultura* or *De Re Rustica;* hence this general characterization.

668. doctus: denotes ripe culture, not simply learning, and was

often applied to poets and philosophers. **Hesiodus:** see l. 274. **de cultura agri:** the work of Hesiod here referred to is his *Works and Days*, still extant. **Homerus:** see ll. 274 and 366. The allusion is to *Od.* 24, 226–227, where Laertes is mentioned as simply digging about the plants. But nothing is said there of manuring.

670. **saeculis:** "generations," as in ll. 291 and 296. **fuit:**= *vixit.* **lenientem:** "trying to mitigate"; conative action which is ordinarily expressed by the imperfect tense (Indic.). Cf. l. 143, *dividenti.*

671. **quod capiebat e filio:** in the passage from the Odyssey cited above Ulysses after dispatching the suitors comes and finds his unhappy aged father digging in his garden, "trying to mitigate the longing he felt for his son." **stercorantem:** this is only an inference from the Homeric record (λιστρεύοντα, "digging about"), but perhaps a legitimate one. At least this is the traditional interpretation of the passage. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 17, 50 (in describing Laertes), *Iam apud Homerum regius senex agrum ita laetificans suis manibus reperitur.*

672. **facit:** cf. l. 32, *facimus.* **segetibus . . . pratis,** etc.: Abls. of cause.

673. **res rusticae:** "country life," "farm life." **laetae:** "pleasing," "delightful." Cf. l. 659, *laetius.*

674. **florum omnium:** "all kinds of flowers."

675. **consitiones:** "planting" of trees; rare and said to occur in Cicero only.

676. **insitiones:** "grafting," on which Cato was reputed a high authority. See his remarks on this subject in his *De Agri Cultura* 40–42.

CHAPTER XVI

§ 55. 677. **Possum persequi:** "I might set forth"; an example of the figure called *praeteritio.* Note the indicative here, the potential idea being inherent in the verb *possum.* Cf. l. 282, *possum nominare.* **rerum rusticarum:** cf. above, l. 673, *res rusticae.*

678. **longiora:** "rather tedious."

679. **studio:** "enthusiasm."

680. **natura loquacior:** "naturally too talkative"; *natura* is Abl. of specification. **ne . . . videar:** cf. l. 568, *ne . . . videar;* also l. 641, *ut . . . noscatis.*

681. **vitiis videar vindicare:** note the alliteration, as also above, *possum persequi permulta.* **Ergo:** "Well, then"; resumptive like *igitur*, and the stress is on *in hac vita.* **M'. Curius:** see note l. 199.

682. cum de . . . triumphavisset: "having triumphed over"; another example of the circumstantial *cum*-clause equivalent to a participle. Cf. l. 608, *cum . . . fabulam docuisset.*

684. villam: "country-house," — without any accessory idea of wealth or luxury, such as the word connoted in later times. Such magnificent estates were unknown in the good old republican days when men lived "the simple life." **a mea:** i. e., from Cato's farm-house (*villa*). Cato frequently visited Curius's farm-house (Plutarch, *Cato* 4).

685. continentiam: "self-restraint," "character."

686. temporum disciplinam: "morals of his age"; lit. "teaching." **Curio:** the gold was brought as a present, not as a bribe, since the Samnites had already been subjugated and were now regarded as Curius's clients. Cf. *De Re Pub.* 3, 40, and also Plutarch, *Cato* 2.

688. non enim . . . imperare: "for he said it was not the owning of gold that appeared to him a fine thing, but commanding those that did own it." Plutarch (*Cato* 2) says that Curius was cooking a dinner of herbs when the Samnites arrived with the gift and he replied to them that the man who dined in that simple manner had no use for gold.

§ 56. **690. -ne:** seems to have here the force of *num*, which is a rare use. In support of this usage Reed, *ad loc.*, cites *De Fin.* 3, 44, and *Acad.* 2, 116.

691. Sed venio ad agricolas: after the digression involved in the narration of the above story about Curius, Cato returns to the subject under discussion. **In agris erant tum:** "It was in the country that senators then lived"; *In agris*, as denoted by position, is emphatic, and *erant* is equivalent to *virunt*, as in l. 254, *sunt. Tum* implies a contrast with the age of Cato.

692. senes: see l. 238, *senatum.* **si quidem:** cf. l. 496, *si quidem.* **aranti:** emphatic, — "it was while he was plowing that word was brought, etc." For the story see Livy, 3, 26–29. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 18, 20, *Aranti quattuor sua iugera in Vaticano quae prata Quinctia appellantur Cincinnato viator attulit dictaturam*, etc.

693. Cincinnato: Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, consul 460 B. C., twice dictator — 458 and 439 B. C. — though Cicero here seems to confuse the two terms. In his first dictatorship he extricated the Roman army from its position of sore distress and brought the Æquians to terms of peace within fifteen days from his appointment. It is the second dictatorship to which Cicero here makes reference.

694. factum: the regular technical term is *dicere dictatorem* rather than *facere.* **dictatoris:** appositive to *cuius.*

695. Sp. Maelium: a rich Roman citizen who, in the year 439 B. C., distributed large quantities of grain among the common peo-

ple during a famine and was consequently charged with courting popular favor in order to make himself king. He was commanded by Ahala, master of horse, to appear before Cincinnatus the dictator appointed to quell the rising rebellion, and on Mælius's refusing to obey and appealing to the masses to defend him, he was immediately slain by Ahala. See Livy, 4, 13. Cicero refers to this incident (*In Cat.* 1, 3) as a precedent for his conduct in his summary execution of Catiline's accomplices. **regnum adpetentem:** "because he was aiming at kingly power." **occupatum interemit:** "took by surprise and killed"; a good illustration of the Latin succinctness of phrase attained through the use of participles.

696. **A villa in senatum:** emphatic, as illustrating how in those times, the Roman senators were devoted to country life and had not yet abandoned it for the attractions of the city.

697. **viatores:** "the summoners"; lit. "travellers." Cicero here implies that the senators in the early days of the Republic were so devoted to agricultural pursuits that the official messengers who attended the magistrates and were dispatched on distant errands had to travel long distances over the country to summon the senate to Rome and hence were called travellers. Cf. Pliny, *N. H.* 18, 21, *Tales tum etiam viatores erant, quod ipsum nomen inditum est subinde et ex agris senatum ducesque arcessentibus;* also Columella, *Praef.* 19, *Ex quo qui eos evocabant viatores nominati sunt.*

698. **horum:** i. e., of these whom I have named.

699. **cultione:** a rare term for the usual *cultura;* it occurs also in *Verr.* 3, 226, and then not again recorded till Ambrosius (third century).

700. **haud scio an nulla:** "probably none"; lit. "I know not but that none." Cf. ♭ 897, *haud scio an melius Ennius.* **officio:** "in point of service"; lit. "office, function."

702. **sed:** note the omission of *etiam* after *sed* — an omission of frequent occurrence in Cicero. **saturitate:** said to occur nowhere else in Cicero (ἅπαξ λεγόμενον).

703. **ad cultum etiam deorum:** i. e., the farm provides the first-fruits, wine for libation and animal victims for sacrifice to the gods.

704. **ut . . . redeamus:** result clause. For Cato's attack on pleasure, see § 39 *seq.*

706. **cella:** a store-room, or a place for fruits, grain, etc., above ground. The expression was also applied to small living apartments for men, especially servants and slaves. Cf. Varro, *R. R.* 1, 13, 6, *cellam vinariam et olearium;* Cato, *R. R.* 3, 2, *cellam oleariam, vinariam;* Columella, 1, 6, 9.

707. **olearia:** agrees with *cella* understood. Observe that the Romans used olive oil, not butter which they were hardly acquainted

with. **penaria:** "larder," "store-house." **villaque:** i. e., *villa rustica* as opposed to *villa urbana*. Cf. Varro, *R. R.* 1, 13, 7, and Cato, *R. R.* 3–4. **porco, haedo, agno, gallina:** in a collective sense, — "hogs, kids, etc."

709. **Iam:** "furthermore"; a transitional particle. Cf. l. 890, *Iam;* l. 901, *Iam.* **succidiam alteram:** "their second flitch"; meat supply. The meaning is that the farmers can rely upon their garden for supplies to replenish the larder in case the meat supply should fail. The origin of the proverb is obscure. Varro (*L. L.* 5, 110, *Succidia ab suibus caedendis; nam id pecus primum occidere coeperunt*, etc.) derives the word *succidia* from *sus* "swine" + *caedere* "to slaughter," and thus makes it mean "meat" (see *R. R.* 2, 4, 3, *qui succidiam in carnario suspenderit*, etc.). In a fragment of Cato (Gellius 13, 25, 12, *succidias humanas facis*) the word means wholesale slaughter. Nonius, who quotes this passage (170, 25 M), glosses it *successionem necessariam.*

710. **Conditiora facit haec:** "add more spice to these things"; i. e., render life on the farm all the more delightful. Cf. l. 119, *condita.* **supervacaneis operis:** "by utilizing the leisure hours"; lit. "by the superfluous labors," i. e., when the ordinary routine work of the farm is finished.

§ 57. 712. **ordinibus:** cf. l. 740, *mei sunt ordines.*

713. **praecidam:** "in a word," "in short"; lit. "I will cut the matter off briefly." The object (sc. *sermonem*) is here suppressed. Cf. *Acad.* 2, 133, *Praecide.* **agro bene culto:** "in comparison with a well-cultivated farm"; emphatic.

714. **usu uberius nec specie ornatius:** cf. l. 659, *fructu laetius*, etc. **ad quem fruendum:** as a remnant of their original usage the gerundives of *utor, fruor, fungor, potior* and *vescor* have the personal construction, but usually in the oblique cases only. See G. 427, N. 5; L. 2244; B. 339, 4; H. 623, 1; A. & G. 503, N. 2. *Ad* of course goes with *invitat*, but it is also found after a verb of hindering (cf. G. 432, R.; L. 2252). Cf. Cæs., *B. G.* 7, 26, 2, *palus Romanos ad insequendum tardabat;* also Cic., *pro Sulla* 49, *nullius amicitia ad pericula propulsanda impedimur.*

716. **adlectat:** practically synonymous with *invitat.* Cf. *Lael.* § 99, *allectant et invitant.* **illa aetas:** i. e., those of that time of life, "old age."

717. **calescere vel apricatione:** "warm themselves more comfortably by basking in the sun."

718. **aquisve refrigerari:** "or cool themselves off by bathing."

§ 58. 718. **habeant:** sc. *iuvenes* as subject. The verb seems to imply contempt here as in *Lael.* § 18, *sibi habeant sapientiae nomen.*

719. **hastas:** cf. l. 235, *nec eminus hastis.* **clavam:** "a foil"; a

club used by young men for exercising, and especially used by soldiers. **pilam:** games of ball were a popular sport among the Romans, but they did not play any game approaching our national game of baseball, as far as known.

720. lusionibus: "games," lit. "plays."

721. talos: "knuckle-bones," i. e., dice having four sides flat and numbered 1, 3, 4, 6 (1 being opposite 6, and 3 opposite 4) and the remaining two sides rounded. **tesseras:** dice with the sides so numbered from 1 to 6 that the sum of the numbers on any two opposite sides always equaled 7 (see Becker's *Gallus*, p. 499). The Romans were very fond of games of chance, and such games were specially forbidden by law, except in the case of old men. **id ipsum:** some editors supply here *faciant*, "even that they may do or not"; i. e., the young men leave the old men the dice or not. **utrum libebit:** "whichever they please." On the reading of *utrum* see Crit. App. Moore has shown that the use of *utrum* here as indefinite relative (*utrumcumque* or *utcumque*) can be defended on the authority of Ciceronian usage. Cf. *Verr.* 2, 150 *fin.*, *Utrum tibi commodum est, elige; ib.*, 3, 106, *Utrum enim horum dixeris;* also *Div.* 2, 141, *sed, utrum est, non est mirabile;* and *pro Tullio* 28, *Utrum enim ostendere potest, . . . vincat necesse est.*

CHAPTER XVII

§ 59. 723. legite: "read again and again."

724. ut facitis: Africanus is reputed to have been very fond of Xenophon. Cf. *Tus. Disp.* 2, 62, *semper Africanus . . . Xenophontem in manibus habebat.*

725. in eo libro: the reference is to Xenophon's *Oecon.* 4, 20–25. **de tuenda re familiari:** Latin rendering of the Greek title Οἰκονομικός.

726. Oeconomicus: Xenophon's work on the management of an estate (οἶκος + νομέω) had been translated by Cicero when a young man and was recognized as an authority. Vergil, in composing his *Georgics*, is said to have availed himself of the book, perhaps Cicero's version, as one of his authorities (Servius on *Georg.* 1, 43), and Columella did likewise (*R. R.* 12, 2, 6, *De quibus omnibus M. Cicero ordine suo recensetur*). **ut intellegatis:** Cato's motive in quoting Socrates. Cf. l. 641, *ut . . . noscatis.*

728. loquitur cum: "says in a talk with." Note here the rare construction of *loquitur* followed by the Acc. and Infin. which is a mark of colloquial Latin. Cf. *Ad Att.* 1, 5, 6, *mecum Tadius locutus est te ita scripsisse.* **Critobulo:** Critobulus, one of the speakers of Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, a pupil of Socrates. **Cyrum minorem:** Cyrus the Younger, slain at Cunaxa, 401 B. C., in his attempt with 10,000 Greeks to wrest the throne from his brother Artaxerxes II (Xenophon's *Anabasis*). **regem:** "prince," not

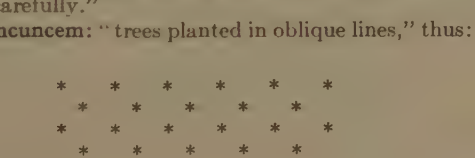
king. Cyrus was a son of Darius and satrap of Lydia, Phrygia and Cappadocia, but never king.

730. **Lysander:** the famous Spartan general and admiral who defeated the Athenians at Ægospotamoi in 405 B. C. and the following year took Athens. **summae virtutis:** "consummate valor," not moral courage.

731. **Sardis:** Acc. Pl. Motion to a place embraces all local designations. — G. 337, R. 6. **sociis:** i. e., Sparta and the other states in league against Athens in the Peloponnesian War. Lysander and the Spartans received large gifts from Cyrus, who hoped in return to secure their support in his effort to make himself king of Persia. **et ceteris:** *et* is correlative with the following *et*. Cf. l. 747, *et ceterarum rerum et in primis*, etc.

733. **consaeptum agrum:** "park"; translation of the Greek παράδεισος, which explains the omission of *et* before *consitum*. **diligenter:** "carefully."

735. **in quincuncem:** "trees planted in oblique lines," thus:



Quincunx, primarily $\frac{5}{12}$ (*quinque uncia*), was also applied to trees planted in the form of the five spots on dice (⁘) technically called a *quincunx*, inasmuch as in the duodecimal system $\frac{5}{12}$ may be regarded as five units. Cf. Cæs., *B. G.* 7, 73, *obliquis ordinibus in quincuncem dispositis*; Varro, *R. R.* 1, 7, 2, *ut qui habent arbusta, si sata sunt in quincuncem.*

736. **subactam:** cf. l. 631, *Quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto.* **puram:** "clean." The ground was neatly kept.

737. **eum dixisse:** depends on *loquitur* above.

739. **dimensa atque discripta:** "laid out and arranged"; *dimensa* here has a passive signification. Cf. l. 51, *adeptam.*

740. **ista:** "these things which you behold"; no idea of contempt is here suggested.

742. **nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum:** "the beauty of his person and his splendid Persian apparel." Cf. Hor., *Ode* 1, 19, 5, *Glycerae nitor;* Ter., *Eun.* 242, *nitor corporis.*

743. **auro multisque gemmis:** Abl. of quality.

745. **virtuti tuae fortuna:** *virtus* here signifies "personal worth," "excellence," as reflected in Cyrus's character in improving his estate; *fortuna* signifies "good fortune" as expressed in the blessings which his high position conferred upon him. The Greek original,

which Cicero here follows, reads (*Xenophon*, 1, c. 25) *ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὢν ἀνὴρ εὐδαιμονεῖς*

§ 60. **745. igitur:** "now then"; resumptive, giving the gist of the preceding discussion on the pleasures of country life.

746. aetas: i. e., our time of life, old age. **impedit:** the object of the verb is *nos*, which is usually omitted when it is so clearly indicated by the context as in the present instance.

747. studia: the English idiom here requires the singular, — "interest."

749. Corvinum: Valerius Corvinus was so called because in the Gallic War, in 349 B. C., he is reputed to have prevailed over his antagonist through the aid of a raven (*corvus*) which flew into the face of the Gaul. Valerius was six times consul, twice dictator and is alleged to have held twenty-one terms of curule offices. **accepimus:** cf. l. 163, *qualem accepimus Platonis*.

750. perduxisse: as object understand *agri colendi studia* to be supplied from above. **cum esset . . . coleret:** "still continuing on his farm and tilling it although his life was already finished." *Aetate* here means the best period of life, and *acta* has the force of *exacta*. The *cum*-clauses have the force of present participles, as often.

751. sex et quadraginta: Valerius's first consulship was in 348 B. C., his sixth in 299. It was therefore 49, not 46 years. Like Cicero, Pliny (*N. H.* 7, 157, *Cuius inter primum et sextum consulatum XLVI anni fuere*) makes the period 46 years.

753. ad senectutis initium: Cicero here loosely identifies the age of exemption from military service (46) with old age proper, which began at the 60th year.

754. cursus honorum: "official career," including all offices up to the consulship. Here, however, in view of this so exceptional case, the quæstorship, ædileship and prætorship are not mentioned.

755. quod . . . habebat: explanatory of the foregoing *hoc*. **auctoritatis:** "influence," "weight."

756. apex: "the highest honor," "crown"; rarely so used. Cf. Hor., *Ode* 1, 34, 14, *Hinc apicem Fortuna sustulit hic posuisse gaudet*. The word originally denotes the small rod at the top of the flamen's cap, wound round with wool.

§ 61. **757. Quanta fuit:** i. e., *auctoritas*. **Metello:** see l. 360.

758. Calatino: consul in 258 B. C. and again in 254, dictator in 249 during the First Punic War in which he rendered distinguished service. **elogium:** "epitaph," "inscription." The word is the Greek *ἐλεγεῖον*, "sepulchral inscription." **unum:** "one above all others"; compare the use of *unus* with superlatives, as in *Lael.* § 1, *quem unum . . . praestantissimum audeo dicere*. Cicero quotes this inscription again in *De Fin.* 2, 116. The metre is the old Saturnian.

See G. 756. Moore has pointed out the similarity of the language of this inscription to that upon the tomb of L. Cornelius Scipio, grandfather of Africanus, as recorded in *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Vol. I, 32, the first two lines of which read as follows:

HONC · OINO · PLOIRVME · COSENTIONT · R(OMANE)
DVONORO · OPTVMO · FVISE · VIRO.

759. gentes: in the technical sense of clans.

760. Populi: with *primarium virum.*

761. totum carmen: i. e., the entire epitaph; Cato here cites only two lines of it. **incisum:** it was the custom in Cato's time to engrave the epitaph upon the tomb; but the earlier practice was simply to paint the epitaph in red letters on the stone. **in sepulcro:** on the Appian Way where Calatinus was buried near the tomb of the Scipios, Metelli, Servilii (see *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 13; *De Fin.* 2, 116).

762. gravis: "a man of influence." **cuius . . . esset:** Rel. of characteristic.

763. Quem virum . . . vidimus: "What a man we recently saw P. Crassus (to be)"; *vidimus* here has a double accusative after the analogy of verbs of naming, choosing, showing, etc. For Crassus see note on l. 335.

764. Lepidum: M. Æmilius Lepidus, consul 187 B. C. and again 175, censor 179 B. C. He was for twenty-seven years *princeps senatus* ("leader of the senate") and held the office of *pontifex maximus* from the year 185 B. C., dying in 152 B. C. **765. Paulo:** see l. 350.

766. Maximo: see 117. **sententia:** generally interpreted to refer to the formal expression of opinion by the individual senator when a vote was taken.

767. honorata: said of one who has held the various offices (*honores*) constituting the *cursus honorum.* Cf. l. 263, *honoratis viris.*

768. pluris: "worth more," "of more value": Gen. of value.

CHAPTER XVIII

§ 62. **770. in omni oratione:** "throughout my entire speech."

771. quae . . . constituta sit: Rel. of characteristic.

772. id quod: "a thing which"; parenthetic clause in apposition with the following statement. **quondam:** the speech Cato here refers to is unknown.

774. defenderet: the sequence is determined by *dixi.* Observe that Cicero here has confused two constructions. *Dixi* properly belongs in the parenthetic clause and we should have expected a result clause with primary sequence depending upon *efficitur.* But the proximity of *dixi* apparently changed the structure of the sentence. It is as if we should say, "In consequence of this it comes about, a thing I

said once with the hearty approval of all, viz. that old age is wretched, etc." **cani:** sc. *capilli*, omitted, as a rule, only in poetry.

775. **fructus . . . extremos:** "receives influence as its ultimate reward." *Auctoritatis* is an appositional genitive.

§ 63. 776. **Haec:** i. e., *salutari, adpeti, accedi*, etc.

777. **honorabilia:** "marks of honor"; very rare word and found nowhere else in classical Latin. **salutari:** the morning call which custom prescribed should be paid by his friends to a person of great distinction.

778. **adpeti:** "to be shown special courtesy"; in allusion to the practice of seizing the hands of an old man and kissing them. **decedi, adsurgi:** "to have people give place out of respect to you, to rise up in your presence"; these two infinitives are the only impersonal ones in the series. **deduci, reduci:** "to be escorted from home and to be escorted back home again"; in allusion to the custom of friends escorting a distinguished man from his home to the Forum and back again when he returned. **consuli:** in reference to the practice of giving an expert opinion on knotty points in the law, perhaps also to deliberations in the senate.

779. **ut quaeque:** "according as each (country)." **morata:** "mannered," "civilized"; adjective from *mos*.

781. **modo:** see l. 742.

783. **tribuitur:** Cato here makes Lysander's words his own and hence employs the indicative, as might be expected.

785. **ludis:** Abl. of time.

786. **magno consessu:** Abl. Abs. with concessive force, implying that despite the immense crowd present, no one was found with sufficient courtesy to show the old man this mark of respect.

788. **legati cum essent:** "as being ambassadors"; causal. **certo in loco:** ambassadors had special seats reserved for them in the orchestra. **consederant:** explanatory clause injected by the writer, hence indicative.

789. **sessum:** supine of purpose, motion being implied in *recepisse*.

§ 64. 790. **multiplex:** for the more usual *maximus* as an epithet of *plausus*.

792. **collegio:** viz., the college of augurs of which Cato was a member.

793. **ut quisque . . . antecedit:** "in the order of seniority"; lit. "as each man excelled in age." Cf. l. 779, *ut quaeque optime morata est*, etc.

794. **sententiae:** it was the custom for the augurs in debating and voting to take precedence according to age. On *sententiae* see l. 766, *in sententia*.

795. honore: all official positions are here included. **cum imperio:** the term *imperium* signified such supreme authority as that formally invested in dictators, consuls, prætors and provincial governors by the *Comitia Curiata* and limited to the tenure of office.

798. quibus qui . . . usi sunt: "those who have made noble use of these distinctions." On the Latin idiom of the juxtaposition of relatives, see note l. 25, *cui qui*.

799. fabulam aetatis: the comparison of life to a play is a familiar figure in most tongues. Cf. l. 64, *extremum actum*; l. 856 and especially l. 1052, *Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae;* Seneca, *Ep.* 77, 20, *Quomodo fabula, sic vita, non quam diu*, etc. **peregisse:** note the force of *per*, "through to the end." **tamquam . . . corruisse:** "just as unskilful actors, to have failed in the last act"; *corruere* primarily means "to sink to the ground from exhaustion."

§ 65. **801. At sunt:** still another objection urged by an imaginary opponent. Cf. l. 250, *At memoria minuitur.* **morosi:** the word is from *mos* and denotes the peculiarities, whims and crotchets of men; hence the present meaning "whimsical," "crotchety."

802. Si quaerimus: "in fact," "to speak honestly"; lit. "if we look well into the matter." **morum:** cf. l. 94, *in moribus est culpa, non in aetate.*

804. non illius quidem: "not a just one, it is true"; *ille* is often employed in a concession with *quidem*, as in the present example, where the English idiom ordinarily leaves it untranslated. Besides *ille* other pronouns (*is, iste, hic*) occasionally occur. Cf. G. 307, R. 4; L. 2361; H. 507, 5. **sed . . . videatur:** "but such as seem possible to be approved"; relative of characteristic to *excusationis*.

805. contemni . . . despici, inludi: these words constitute a climax, each being a stronger term than the preceding.

807. bonis: modifies *artibus* as well as *moribus* as the order denotes (this figure is called *coniunctio*).

809. qui in Adelphis sunt: the *Adelphi*, "the Brothers," the last written of Terence's comedies and presented at the funeral games of Æmilius Paulus, 160 B. C. **altero . . . altero:** the former *altero* refers to the stern father Demea, the latter to his brother, the kindly bachelor Micio.

810. Sic: it is not clear whether *sic* here refers to what has gone before, or looks forward to what follows. Either interpretation would suit the context.

811. omnis natura: see Crit. App.

812. Severitatem: "strictness," as often.

§ 66. **813. Avaritia quid sibi velit:** "But as for avarice, what

purpose that subserves in an old man." *Avaritia* is emphatic, standing first in the clause.

815. quo . . . eo: Abl. of degree of difference. Cf. G. 403 and 642, R. 2. **viatici:** "travelling money"; the usual meaning of the word.

CHAPTER XIX

818. sollicitam habere: "to keep old age in a state of anxiety"; *habere* with the perf. part. is used to emphasize the continuance of the result indicated by the participle. Cf. G. 238; A. & G. 497, *b*; L. 1606, H. 388; H. 431, 3.

819. esse longe: *esse* is here equivalent to *abesse*, the regular phrase.

820. qui . . . viderit: Rel. of characteristic, with the accessory notion of cause.

822. omnino: "altogether," "for good and all." The doctrine of the annihilation of the soul in death here intimated was accepted by some of the philosophers of Cato's time, especially the Epicureans. Cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Nat.* 3, 417.

823. aliquo: "somewhither," "to some place or other."

824. tertium certe nihil: "assuredly nothing as a third alternative." Cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 82, *quoniam nihil tertium est.* Cicero speaks (*T. D.* 1, 10 and 11 and 48) of the doctrine of future punishment as old wives' tales.

§ **67. 825. aut non miser . . . aut beatus:** observe that in this dilemma Cicero does not recognize the possibility of the soul's existing after death in a state of unhappiness.

826. Quamquam: cf. l. 7, *quamquam;* also l. 844, *Quamquam.* **quamvis:** "however."

827. cui: Dat. of agent with *exploratum sit*, "as to be convinced." **ad vesperum:** "at even-tide," not "till evening" which would be expressed *usque ad vesperum.* Cf. *Lael.* § 12, *domum reductus ad vesperum est;* also Verg., *Georg.* 1, 461, *quid vesper serus vehit.* See Otto (*Sprichtwörter der Römer*, p. 369), who quotes Livy, 45, 8, 6, *Quid vesper ferat, incertum est*, and cites from Gellius 13, 11, 1, the subject of one of Varro's Menippean satires *Nescis quid vesper serus vehat.*

828. Quin etiam: cf. l. 784, *Quin etiam.*

830. tristius: i. e., since young men on account of improvidence are subject to more violent attacks of illness, they require severer remedies in the treatment of their maladies.

831. ni: a peculiarity of colloquial Latin as well as of legal formulas. Cf. l. 421, *Quod ni;* also l. 1009, *Quod quidem ni.*

832. viveretur: impersonal, like *sic vivitur*, "such is life." Cf. *De Off.* 1, 15, 46, *quoniam vivitur non cum perfectis hominibus.*

Mens . . . consilium: *mens* is generic, involving both *ratio* and *consilium*. Cf. l. 236, *consilio, ratione ;* also l. 494, *mente . . . ratione.*

833. **qui si nulli:** sc. *senes* from *senibus; nullus* here equals *non.* Cf. l. 564, *qui pauci.*

§ 68. 834. **Quod:** interrogative adjective equivalent to *quale,* — "how does that constitute a charge against old age?" *Istud* refers to impending death, as *id* in the following clause likewise does.

835. **cum adulescentia esse commune:** especially frequent. Cf. l. 16, *commune tecum.*

836. **Sensi:** emphatic and agreeing with *ego,* the nearest subject. **filio:** Cato's son died while prætor-elect in the year 152 B. C. See ll. 198 and 1034. **expectatis ad . . . fratribus:** "in the case of your brothers who were expected to attain to the highest honor"; a rare construction of *ad* with the Acc. after *exspectare.* The allusion is to the two sons of Lucius Æmilius Paulus, both of whom died, aged 12 and 14 years respectively, within seven days, the one just before and the other just after their father's triumph in 167 B. C. The case appealed to the Roman mind as a conspicuous illustration of the fickleness of fortune.

838. **At:** in the mouth of an imaginary opponent in answer to the preceding argument.

839. **idem:** "likewise"; in agreement with *quod.* Cf. l. 869, *quod idem.*

840. **Insipienter:** emphatic, — "It is a foolish hope he indulges."

841. **At:** view of an imaginary opponent, — "But some one says." **ne quod speret quidem:** "not even anything to hope for"; Rel. of purpose.

842. **At:** Cato's own refutation of the above supposititious objection.

843. **cum . . . consecutus est:** explanatory *cum,* being practically equivalent to a *quod*-clause. Cf. *In Cat.* 1, 8, 21, *cum tacent clamant ; Ad Fam.* 13, 24, 2, *tibi maximas gratias ago cum tantum litterae meae potuerunt ; ibid.* 9, 14, 3; Plin., *Epist.* 4, 22, 4, *Dixi omnia cum hominem nominavi.* See G. 582; L. 1875; B. 290; Hale, *Cum Construc.,* p. 302. **ille . . . hic:** see G. 307, Rem. 1; B. 246, 1; H. 506, 2; L. 2352.

§ 69. 843–4. **Quamquam:** corrective, cf. l. 826, *Quamquam quis est tam stultius,* etc.

846. **Tartessiorum:** the Tartessi lived near Cadiz (*Gades*) along the southern coast of Spain.

847. **scriptum:** i. e., Herodotus I, 163.

848. **centum viginti:** for a catalogue of conspicuous examples of longevity see Pliny the Elder, *N. H.* 7, 153–164.

849. **extremum:** cf. l. 64, *extremum actum ;* also l. 800, *in extremo actu.*

851. effluxit: "has vanished." Cf. l. 57, *praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa cum effluxisset.* **tantum:** "only so much."

852. consecutus sis: subjunctive because indefinite second person. **horae . . . et . . . et . . . et:** this rhetorical device (polysyndeton) is no doubt used for effect instead of the more usual figure asyndeton.

854. quid sequatur: i. e., what the future has in store. Cf. Lucretius, 1, 459, *quid porro deinde sequatur.* **quod . . . contentus:** on the thought see Lucretius, 3, 938, *cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis;* also *ibid.* 960, *satur ac plenus discedere rerum.* Cf. Hor., *Sat.* 1, 1, 117–118.

§ 70. **856. peragenda fabula:** i. e., the actor is not required to go through the entire play in order to win approval. For a similar figure see l. 800, and l. 1052, *Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae.* **modo:** "provided only."

857. fuerit: subjunctive by attraction after *probetur.*

858. Plaudite: at the close of a play it was the custom for one of the troupe to say to the audience "*Plaudite,*" which signified that the play was finished. So the term came to mean "the conclusion," or as here "the end of life." Cf. Hor., *Ars poet.* 153, *si plausoris eges aulaea manentis et usque Sessuri donec cantor "Vos Plaudite" dicat;* Quint. 6, 1, 52, *cum ventum est ad ipsum illud quo veteres tragoedias comoediasque cluduntur "Plodite."*

859. processerit: either supply *aetas* as subject, or *sapiens* and understand *aetate,* in accordance with l. 253, *cum aetate processisset.*

861. verni temporis suavitate: "the sweet spring-time"; abstract for concrete. See G. 360, Rem. 2.

862. tamquam: "so to speak"; apologetic. Cf. l. 654, *tamquam.*

864. demetendis et percipiendis: these terms are practically synonymous. Cicero is fond of employing synonyms in pairs as here. Cf. l. 409, *officia et munera;* also l. 343, *cocta et mitis.* In reference to *percipere* in the sense "to gather," cf. l. 285, *non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus;* also l. 403, *quod suo tempore percipi debeat.*

§ 71. **865. Fructus:** cf. l. 775, *sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos;* also *Pis.* 24, 57, *gloria est fructus verae virtutis honestissimus.* **saepe dixi:** see ll. 116, 754, and 775.

866. ante partorum bonorum: "of possessions formerly acquired." Cf. *Quint.* 23, 74, *ut honeste partis bonis privaret.*

867. secundum naturam: a favorite Stoic expression. Cf. note on l. 62, *naturam optimam ducem.*

869. quod idem: cf. l. 839, *quod sperare idem senex non potest.* **adversante et repugnante natura:** the Abl. Abs. here expresses concession.

871. flammae vis: "a powerful blaze."

873. **consumptus:** "having burnt itself out"; used in a middle sense. **quasi:** = *quemadmodum*, or *sicut*. This is a special use of *quasi* in direct comparison with the indicative. Cf. G. 602, N. 1; L. 2122. This construction occurs in early Latin, and for this reason some editors take it as a conscious archaism here on the part of Cicero, in imitation of the Latinity of Cato's age. (Sommerbrodt would place in the same category the passive use of deponents, such as l. 51, *adeptam*, l. 739, *dimensa*, l. 903, *meditatum;* the construction *quam viam — ingrediendum sit*, l. 79, and the adverb *audaciter*, l. 884.)

874. **si . . . si:** the second protasis is usually introduced by *sin* when the conditions exclude each other as here. Cf. l. 1047, *sin*. **cocta:** "ripened" by the sun. Cf. Varro, *R. R.* 1, 7, 4 and *ib.* 1, 54, *et praecox et miscella* (*uva*) . . . *multo ante coquitur;* also Verg., *Georg.* 2, 522. For the figurative meaning of the word, see l. 343, *diserti senis cocta et mitis oratio.*

875. **senibus:** Dat. of separation after *aufert* (*adulescentibus* the same). Cf. G. 347; B. 188, 2, *d*; H. 427; A. & G. 381.

876. **quae:** "and this idea"; construction according to the sense, not according to grammar. The antecedent of the relative is the idea involved in the preceding clause rather than *maturitas* which the grammar strictly requires.

877. **accedam:** subjunctive by attraction after *videar*.

878. **in portum:** cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 118, *portum potius paratum nobis et perfugium putemus. Quo utinam velis passis pervehi liceat.*

CHAPTER XX

§ 72. 879. **terminus:** cf. *Lael.* 56, *constituendi sunt . . . ut quasi termini diligendi;* also *Rab. Perd.* 29, *vitae termini.* **recteque in ea vivitur:** i.e., simply in accordance with the normal course of nature.

880. **quoad . . . possis:** subjunctive of indefinite 2d person. **munus officii exsequi et tueri:** "to prosecute and keep up the performance of one's duty." Cf. l. 348, *officii munus.*

881. **animosior:** cf. Hor., *Ode* 2, 10, 21, *rebus angustis animosus atque fortis appare.*

882. **Hoc illud est**, etc.: "This is the meaning of that famous answer of Solon." Cf. *Div.* 1, 122, *hoc nimirum illud est quod de Socrate accepimus.*

883. **Pisistrato:** tyrant of Athens who usurped the supreme power in 560 B. C. In his life of Solon Plutarch informs us that Solon gave this reply to the inquiring friends of Pisistratus.

884. **audaciter:** for the more common *audacter*. Quintilian (1,

6, 17) criticises the use of *audaciter* for *audacter* saying that *audacter* had been employed by "all the orators" (*licet omnes oratores aliud* (*audacter*) *sequantur*). Merguet (Lexica) cites one or two other examples in Cicero, but the reading is doubtful (e. g. *Sex. Rosc.* 104), and Fuegner (*Lexicon Livianum*) cites Livy, 22, 25; 40, 55; 44, 4. See Neue, *Formenlehre*, 3rd ed., 2, 684.

885. Senectute: depends upon *fretus* understood. Solon, who was born about 640 B. C., must have been well-nigh 80 years of age at this time (560 B. C.).

886. integra mente certisque sensibus: "while his mind is vigorous and his faculties unerring"; Abl. Abs. Cf. *Acad.* 2, 19, *integris incorruptisque sensibus.*

887. coagmentavit: "joined together." Note the contrast with *dissolvit.* Cf. *Phil.* 7, 21, *docebo ne coagmentari quidem pacem posse.* Cicero is fond of antithesis and balance.

888. construxit: contrasted with *destruit* as likewise *dissolvit* below with *conglutinavit.*

890. Iam: "again," "now," in transition. Cf. l. 709, *Iam hortum;* also l. 90, *Iam sensus,* etc. **conglutinatio:** found only in Cicero, — in the present passage and in *Orat.* 78, *conglutinatio verborum.*

892. reliquum: substantive. **nec sine causa:** suicide was justified by the Epicureans and Stoics only in extreme exigencies, as when one was hopelessly ill.

893. deserendum sit: the figure is drawn from military life — that of a soldier who deserted his post of duty. For examples of the figure applied to life (*vitam deserere*), see Cic., *Sest.* 22, *fin.* and Hor., *Ode* 3, 24, 44.

§ 73. **893. Pythagoras:** see ll. 276 and 395. The passage referred to is Plato, *Phaedo,* 61 A–62 C, where Socrates is represented as quoting Philolaus, a Pythagorean. But see Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 74; also *De Rep.* 6, 15 (*Somn. Sc. fin.*), both quoted below. **iniussu imperatoris:** cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 74, *Vetat enim dominans ille in nobis deus iniussu hinc nos suo demigrare;* also *De Rep.* 6, 15, *nec iniussu eius a quo ille* (*animus*) *est vobis datus.*

894. praesidio et statione: almost synonymous here. Cicero here takes Plato's φρουρά (*Phaedo,* 62 B) as referring to the post of duty, but in the above passage he interprets it as referring to a prison.

895. elogium: "a saying," in reference to the Greek couplet (Plutarch, *Solon* 31) which reads thus:

Μηδέ μοι ἄκλαυστος θάνατος μόλοι, ἀλλὰ φίλουσιν
Καλλείποιμι θανὼν ἄλγεα καὶ στοναχάς —

Cicero renders these lines thus (*Tusc. Disp.* 1, 117):

Mors mea ne careat lacrimis ; linquamus amicis
Maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.

se negat velle suam mortem: Solon's lines were called forth by a contemporary elegiac poet Mimnermus who had expressed himself to the contrary.

896. Volt credo: "He would have it, forsooth." This construction of the Infin. with subject accusative after *volo*, *nolo* and *malo* is not so common when the subjects of both verbs are identical, in which case the simple infinitive is the regular construction. Still the Infin. with subject accusative occurs, especially with *esse* and passives. Cf. l. 386, *me . . . senem esse mallem*. See G. 532, R. 2; B. 331, IV, *a*.

897. haud scio an: cf. l. 700, *haud scio an*. **melius Ennius:** sc. *dicat*, "gives expression to a better sentiment." Cf. l. 296, *melius Caecilius*.

898. dacrumis: archaic form for *lacrimis*, employed probably for the alliteration. Cf. *funera fletu faxit*. On the change of early Latin *d* to *l*, see Lindsay, *Lat. Lang.* p. 285.

899. Faxit: as subject understand *quisquam*. *Faxit* is an archaic perfect subjunctive for *fecerit*. The last line of the epitaph (see *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 34) reads: *Faxit. Cur? Volito vivos per ora virum* — "Why? I am yet alive and fly hither and yon in the mouths of men."

900. inmortalitas: not quite what Ennius probably meant. This epigram is found in Vahlen's *Ennius* (No. 17, p. 215), where the reading differs somewhat from the present reading.

§ 74. **901. Iam:** "Moreover." Cf. l. 830, *Iam omnis conglutinatio*, etc.

902. isque: *-que* here has rather an adversative force. Cf. l. 167, *virumque*.

903. nullus: emphatic and almost equal to *non*. Cf. l. 833, *qui si nulli*; for the sentiment, cf. also l. 821, *aut plane neglegenda . . . aut etiam optanda*. **hoc:** explained by the following *ut*-clause. **meditatum . . . esse:** "this lesson ought to be conned by us from our youth up." *Meditari*, "to practice a thing" (as in Quint. 10, 330, *Demosthenes in litore . . . meditans*), has a passive force like *adeptam* (l. 51) and *dimensa* (l. 739). See note on l. 873. Note the use of the perfect tense where we should rather have expected the present. But with *debet* and *oportet* the perfect infinitive is sometimes used for the present. See G. 280, N. 2 and 3; B. 270, 2, *a*; A. & G. 486, *e*; H. 618, 2; L. 2230.

905. sine qua meditatione: "a preparation without which"; case of incorporated antecedent.

906. et incertum an: "and possibly," lit. "it is uncertain whether." Cf. l. 897, *haud scio an*.

907. Mortem . . . impendentem timens: "If then one fears death

as hanging over one every hour, how can one, etc.?" **qui:** interrogative. Cf. l. 54, *qui enim citius . . . obrepit?*

908. poterit: indefinite subject in the third person, and therefore indicative. Cf. l. 301, *volt.* **non ita longa:** "no very long."

909. Brutum . . . duos Decios . . . M. Atilium: these accusatives are the subject of some verb to be supplied, perhaps from *profectas* (*esse*). Cicero apparently lost sight of the fact that he had left these nouns without any grammatical connection with the sentence. L. Junius Brutus, who delivered Rome from the tyranny of the kings, was killed in single combat with A. Tarquinius in the attempt Tarquinius made, after the expulsion, 510 B. C., to recover the throne.

§ 75. **910. duos Decios:** see the note on *devotio*, l. 530, the voluntary sacrifice of one's life as the price of victory.

912. Atilium: Marcus Atilius Regulus, consul 267 B. C. and again 256, the celebrated general in the First Punic War who carried the war into Africa and was at length captured and sent as a hostage to Rome in 251 B. C. The story of his return to Carthage to keep his oath is now discredited and regarded as a myth.

913. duos Scipiones: cf. ll. 350 and 996.

914. Poenis: Dat. of personal interest (reference). **vel:** adverbial, "even." **avum tuum:** addressed to Scipio whose grandfather, L. Æmilius Paulus (the father of the hero of Pydna), was in command at the memorable battle of Cannæ in the year 216 B. C., where he was killed.

915. collegae: C. Terentius Varro, consul 216 B. C., who attacked Fabius's policy of delay and himself invited the defeat of Cannæ. He was one of the few officers who escaped from that field of carnage. **Cannensi ignominia:** in the famous battle of Cannæ (216 B. C.) the Romans lost about 60,000 men. See Livy, 22, 47–49.

916. temeritatem: the early historians, who were aristocrats, all blamed Varro, the democratic consul, for risking a general engagement at Cannæ. But the Romans had been displeased with the policy of Fabius "the Delayer." Probably Varro was not inferior in generalship to the many other Roman warriors who fought Hannibal. **Marcellum:** M. Claudius Marcellus, five times consul and the first Roman general to hold his own against Hannibal. He captured Syracuse in 212 B. C., after a three years' siege, but lost his life in a skirmish with Hannibal's troops near Venusia, 208 B. C. **cuius interitum:** "whose body after his death"; abstract for concrete.

917. crudelissimus hostis: the Romans were so prejudiced against Hannibal that they would not give him the credit which he really deserved. Even Cicero here concurs in the traditional Roman view.

See Livy's characterization of Hannibal (21, 4); also Mommsen's *Hist. of Rome*, III, chap. 4.

918. in Originibus: cf. l. 454, *Originum*. Cicero repeats these words almost identically in *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 101. For a fragment of Cato's *Origines* containing an account of the tribune and his 400 whom Cato compares to Leonidas, see Gellius 3, 7, 19.

921. indocti: implying a lack of training in philosophy. **rustici:** the recruits for the Roman army came chiefly from the rural districts and were therefore men who had enjoyed but little culture.

§ 76. **922. Omnino:** "in general"; modifies the entire statement. Cf. l. 110, *omnino* (where *omnino*, however, modifies a special word).

924. studia certa: "particular occupations or pursuits."

926. constans iam . . . aetas: observe that *iam* here, contrary to the rule, follows the word it modifies. Cf. l. 402, *iam constantis aetatis.*

927. ne . . . quidem: "nor . . . even." The idea is, old age, far from longing for the pursuits of youth and boyhood, does not long even for those of middle life. Cf. l. 389, *Ne vos quidem.*

930. satietas vitae: cf. *pro Marc.* 27, *satietas vivendi;* also *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 109, *vita acta perficiat ut satis superque vixisse videamur.*

CHAPTER XXI

§ 77. **931. cur . . . non audeam:** an original subjunctive — "Why should I not venture?" — transferred from direct to indirect discourse.

932. quod eo . . . absum: "a view which I discern the more clearly the nearer I am to it." The antecedent of *quod* is the idea involved in *quid ipse sentiam de morte.* In Latin nearness and distance are simply relative terms determined by the point of view; hence *ab ea propius absum.* On the idea that the mind, as death approached, possessed prophetic vision, see *De Div.* 1, 63, *animus appropinquante morte multo est divinior; ib.* 64, *facilius evenit appropinquante morte ut animi futura augurentur.*

934. Laeli: C. Lælius, the father of C. Lælius Sapiens, was consul in 190 B. C., and won renown both as statesman and soldier. He was an intimate friend of Africanus as well as of Cato.

936. vitam: governed by *vivere*, to be supplied from the foregoing. **sola vita:** for the thought see l. 1008.

937. inclusi in his compagibus corporis: cf. l. 988, *corporum vinculis; De Rep.* 6, 14 (*Somn. Scip.*), *immo vero hi vivunt qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt;* also *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 75 and *Laelius*, §§ 13-14. The doctrine, however, is in reality Plato's.

munere quodam necessitatis: i. e., necessity imposed the function and task upon us (*munere . . . et opere*).

938. animus caelestis: "the soul is divine."

939. quasi: tones down the figure involved in *demersus*, which is usually applied only to things plunged in water.

942. qui terras tuerentur: "to guard the earth." Some editors consider *tuerentur* as an archaism, being used, it is alleged, for *intuerentur;* but this seems not to be the case. Cf. l. 991, *qui hanc . . . tuentur;* also *De Rep.* 6, 15 (*Somn. Scip.*), *homines hac lege sunt generati qui tuerentur illum globum quem in hoc templo medium vides quae terra vocatur.* For a full discussion of *tuerentur* in this connection, see Schneider, *Das Platonische in Cicero's Cato Maior* 77 (*Zeitschrift fuer das Gymnasialwesen*, 33, p. 695).

943. caelestium: neuter substantive. Cf. l. 26, *de ceteris.* **imitarentur:** a Stoic conception which enjoined upon man the duty of contemplating nature in order to imitate her. Cf. l. 62, *naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur eique paremus.* **vitae modo atque constantia:** "in respect of the moderation and steadfastness of life."

945. ut ita crederem: "to this belief." **nobilitas:** "renown."

§ 78. **946. Pythagoram:** cf. l. 276. Pythagoras was a firm believer in the immortality of the soul, and this doctrine formed the underlying basis of his teaching as to metempsychosis.

947. incolas . . . nostros: "almost our countrymen"; the seat of that school of philosophy was Crotona in Southern Italy, hence *nostros.* **qui essent:** causal; hence subjunctive, although an explanatory clause interjected by the speaker.

949. ex universa mente: "the world-soul," i. e., God. Cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 5, 38, *Humanus animus decerptus ex mente divina cum alio nullo nisi cum ipso deo comparari potest.* **delibatos animos haberemus:** "that we have our souls as emanations from the divine world-soul." *Delibare* means primarily "to take away a little from a thing," "to taste," and later "to pluck," "to gather." On this conception of the soul, see *Nat. Deor.* 1, 27, *Pythagoras qui censuit animum esse per naturam rerum omnem . . . ex quo nostri animi carperentur;* also *De Div.* 1, 110. Plato set forth the same or a similar doctrine (cf. *Phaedo*, 86, 92 *seq.*).

951. de immortalitate animorum: the plural is regular here in Latin where the English idiom requires the singular. Cf. *Lael.* § 14, *de immortalitate animorum.* **disseruisset:** subjunctive of partial obliquity. See G. 628; B. 323; H. 652; A. & G. 592.

952. esset . . . iudicatus: subjunctive by attraction, or informal indirect discourse. **oraculo Apollinis:** cf. *Lael.* § 7, *Apollinis oraculo.* On the incident of Socrates being declared the wisest of

men by the Delphic oracle, see Plato, *Apol.* 21. The inquiry and reply were: *εἴ τις ἐμοῦ εἴη σοφώτερος. ἀνείλεν οὖν ἡ Πυθία μηδένα σοφώτερον εἶναι.*

953. **Quid multa:** a familiar formula of transition. Cf. l. 540, *Sed quid ego alios.* **cum tanta:** Cicero here represents Cato as adducing four arguments for the immortality of the soul (all except the first taken from Plato). First, the vast and varied capabilities of the soul. On this argument see *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 59, where Cicero discusses the point more fully. **celeritas animorum:** in reference to the rapidity of thought. Cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 43, *nulla est celeritas quae possit cum animi celeritate contendere.*

954. **praeteritorum futurorumque:** neuter substantives, like *caelestium* (l. 943). Note the chiasmus.

955. **scientiae:** some editors take this as Gen. Sing., since the plural *scientiae* is nowhere else attested for classical Latin, and translate "requiring so great knowledge." But the adjacent plurals *tot artes* and *tot inventa* seem to justify the interpretation of *scientiae* here as plural form, and so it may be rendered "departments, or fields of knowledge."

957. **cumque semper agitetur:** "and since the mind is always occupied"; lit. "occupies itself," — middle voice. This is the second argument for the immortality of the soul, viz. the original and ceaseless activity of the mind, and is borrowed from Plato (*Phaedrus* 245 C). Cicero uses it also in *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 53 *seq.* and in *De Rep.* (*Somn. Scip.*) 6, 26 *seq.*

958. **quia se ipse moveat:** applies only to *nec principium motus habeat.* **ne . . . quidem:** "nor for that matter." Cf. l. 389, *ne . . . quidem;* also l. 927.

960. **cum simplex animi esset:** note the change in sequence from primary (*sit, contineat, agitetur, moveat, sit relicturus*) to secondary, although the entire passage depends upon the same verb *persuasi.* But toward the end the sequence shifts again from secondary (*esset, haberet, posset*) back to primary (*nati sint*). The point of view thus shifts in Latin, but it is better to keep the present tense throughout in translating into English. The argument here presented is the third for the immortality of the soul, viz. its individuality. This is borrowed from Plato (*Phaedo* 78 B) and is also used by Cicero in *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 66.

961. **dispar atque dissimile:** an illustration of Cicero's fondness for employing synonyms in pairs. Cf. l. 409, *officia et munera.*

962. **non posse interire:** as subject understand *animum.* **magnoque esse argumento:** "and that it is strong evidence," for the immortality of the soul. *Argumento* is Dat. of purpose, and *homines scire* is the logical subject of *esse.* This is the fourth argument, viz.

the pre-natal existence of the soul indicating its immortality, and is taken from Plato (*Phaedo* 72 E). Cicero reverts to it again in *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 57. The same argument is familiar in English literature. See Wordsworth's famous *Ode on the Intimations of Immortality from the Recollections of Early Childhood.*

964. **quod iam pueri:** "because the fact that even children"; causal clause assigning the reason why Cato was convinced (*sic mihi persuasi*) of the existence of such pre-natal knowledge.

966. **reminisci et recordari:** practically synonymous, like *dispar atque dissimile* above. **haec Platonis fere:** "these are, in the main, the arguments of Plato." See Crit. App.

CHAPTER XXII

§ 79. 967. **Apud:** "in"; idiomatic usage in quoting a passage from an author when the book is not cited. Cf. l. 356, *apud Xenophontem.*

968. **Cyrus maior:** Cyrus the Elder, founder of the Persian empire. See ll. 356 and 728. **haec dicit:** the quotation is a free translation of the *Cyropaedia*, 8, 7, 17–22, purporting to be the farewell address to his sons, but in reality the words of Xenophon setting forth the teachings of Socrates.

969. **nullum:**=*non.* Cf. l. 903, *nullus est.*

970. **dum eram:** the imperfect tense with *dum* is rare. See G. 569, N. 1–2; L. 1997; A. & G. 556, *a*; H. 604, 1.

973. **nullum:**=*non*, as above.

§ 80. 973. **Nec vero,** etc.: the argument here advanced goes to prove that the only way to explain properly the perpetuation of the fame of the dead is that the souls of the dead influence the living and keep alive the memory of the dead, — which would be impossible if the soul were not immortal.

975. **quo diutius . . . teneremus:** *quo* is used to introduce a final clause especially with a comparative (*diutius*). See G. 545, 2 and R. 1. **Mihi quidem,** etc.: this argument has far more weight than the preceding.

976. **dum . . . essent:** observe that *potuit* upon which *vivere* depends determines the historical sequence for all the following clauses. **corporibus:** plural where the English idiom requires the singular.

977. **vivere . . . emori:** "live as long as they are in the body, but die when they leave it"; adversative asyndeton.

978. **cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset:** "when it escapes from the unconscious body." **tum esse sapientem:** "then it is conscious." Note the meaning of *sapiens*, "conscious," as of *insipiens*,

"unconscious," above. You must supply in thought *mihi persuasum est* from the foregoing *mihi . . . potuit*, upon which *esse* here depends.

981. **Atque etiam:** "And furthermore," introducing as an additional argument the invisibility of the soul. **hominis natura:** hardly more than a mere circumlocution for *homo*. Cf. *De Fin.* 5, 33, *intellegant si quando naturam hominis dicam, hominem dicere me.*

§ 81. 984. **Iam vero:** Cyrus here introduces still another argument for the immortality of the soul, viz. that from dreams.

985. **Atqui:** "Yet." preparing the way for a discussion of the theme. Cf. l. 71, *Atqui*.

987. **remissi:** "relaxed" from attention, the opposite of *intentus* (l. 444). Cf. *De Orat.* 2, 193, *animo leni ac remisso;* also Cæs., *B. G.* 1, 21, *remisso ac languido animo.*

988. **vinculis:** cf. l. 937, *inclusi in his compagibus corporis.*

989. **haec:** refers to the various arguments, advanced in the foregoing, for the immortality of the soul. **colitote:** "revere," "reverence," very strong as indicating the conclusion gathered from the various arguments for the immortality of the soul. Cf. Xenophon's phrase (*Cyr.* 8, 7, 22) *τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδουμένοι.*

991. **pulchritudinem:** refers to the universe; abstract for concrete. The usual word corresponding to *κόσμος* was *mundus*, but Xenophon employs *τάξις* in the present passage.

992. **tuentur:** cf. l. 942, *qui terras tuerentur.*

993. **servabitis:** future with the force of an imperative. See G. 243; A. & G. 449, *b*; L. 1624. **haec:** object of some verb to be supplied.

994. **nostra:** i. e., our own Roman instances. Cf. l. 154, *domestica.*

CHAPTER XXIII

§ 82. 996. **patrem . . . duos avos . . . patruum:** see ll. 350, 420, 914, etc.

998. **multos:** sc. *alios.*

999. **tanta esse conatos:** in a condition contrary to fact in indirect discourse, the apodosis would regularly be future perfect, *fuisse conaturos*, "would have undertaken so great achievements." But for special reason Cato wishes to emphasize the actual accomplishment and so uses the perfect infinitive instead of the periphrastic. See G. 659, N.; L. 2332.

1000. **nisi cernerent:** the imperfect is employed in preference to the regular pluperfect required by the unreal of the past, in order to emphasize the continuance of the past. (Cf. the apodosis *esse conatos* above.) See G. 597, R. 1; B. 304, 2; A. & G. 517, *a*; H. 579,

1; L. 2098. **posteritatem ad se ipsos pertinere:** "that future generations had to do with themselves." On the thought, see *pro Rabirio perd.* 29, *neque quisquam nostrum in rei publicae periculis cum laude ac virtute versatur quin spe posteritatis fructuque ducatur. Itaque cum multis aliis de causis virorum bonorum mentes divinae mihi atque aeternae videntur esse, tum maxime quod optimi et sapientissimi cuiusque animus ita praesentit in posterum, ut nihil nisi sempiternum spectare videatur;* also *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 32, *Nemo umquam sine magna spe immortalitatis se pro patria offerret ad mortem.*

1001. **An censes:** "What? you do not think, do you?" *An* here has the force of *num*. When *utrum* is omitted and *an* stands alone, it serves to urge the acceptance of the positive or negative proposition involved in the preceding statement. See G. 457, 1; B. 162, 4, *a*; L. 1508. **ut . . . glorier:** "to boast somewhat." Cicero here avails himself of one of Cato's characteristic traits to conceal one of his own distinctive frailties — his vanity. See *pro Arch.* 30, where Cicero refers in a similar manner to his own accomplishments.

1005. **otiosam aetatem et quietam:** "a tranquil life and free from public service." Cf. l. 600, *otiosa senectute.*

1006. **traducere:** = *agere*, "to spend." Cf. *Tusc. Disp.* 3, 25, *volumus hoc quod datum est vitae tranquille placideque traducere.* Such a life, however, could hardly have appealed with any force to Cato, who was a conspicuous exponent of the strenuous life. **nescio quo modo:** "somehow or other." Cf. l. 340, *nescio quo pacto.*

1008. **cum excessisset:** subjunctive by attraction, representing the future perfect Indic. Cf. l. 977, *cum excessissent.* **victurus esset:** on the thought see l. 935, *vivere arbitror*, etc.

1009. **Quod quidem . . . haberet:** "If this indeed were not so." Cf. l. 421, *Quod ni ita fuisset;* also l. 831, *quod ni ita accideret.* **ut animi . . . essent:** explanatory of the foregoing *quod* and logical subject of *haberet*, which accounts for the historical sequence (*essent*). **haud:** Cicero sometimes uses *haud* with verbs, never in his orations, however, except with *scio;* in his philosophical works and letters, on the contrary, he occasionally uses it with *adsentor, erro, ignoro, amo* and *nitor* as well as with *scio* (cf. *haud scio an*), — L. 1449.

1010. **optimi cuiusque:** "of all the best men"; lit. "every best man." Cf. *pro Rabirio perd.* 29, *quod optimi et sapientissimi cuiusque animi; pro Arch.* 26, *optimus quisque maxime gloria ducitur.* **immortalitatem et gloriam:** "glory of immortality," hendiadys.

§ 83. 1011. **Quid? quod:** "How is it that?", "moreover." A familiar formula of transition occurring frequently in Cicero. Cf. *De Off.* 3, 25, 94; *Acad.* 2, 29, 95, etc.

1012. iniquissimo: "most reluctantly"; *animo* is here understood.

1013. plus cernat et longius: "has a deeper insight and a farther grasp." Cf. l. 933, *cernere;* also l. 1000, *nisi animo cernerent*, etc.

1015. non videre: emphatic. **Equidem efferor:** "As for my part, I am transported." Cf. *Ad Fam.* 10, 12, 2, *incredibili gaudio efferor.*

1016. videndi: gerund for the lengthy gerundive (Gen. Pl.).

1017. aveo: "I eagerly long."

1018. conscripsi: viz. the distinguished Romans Cato had celebrated in his *Origines.* **Quo . . . proficiscentem:** "And when indeed I set out to meet them"; *quo=ad quos.*

1019. retraxerit . . . recoxerit: potential of the present.

1020. tamquam Peliam: "as in the case of Pelias." Cicero here seems guilty of a lapse in his mythology. Medea cut and boiled Æson the father of Jason, not his half-brother Pelias, in her enchanted cauldron, thus restoring his youth. However, the daughters of Pelias, at Medea's suggestion, attempted likewise to restore their father's youth, but with fatal result. (Plautus (*Pseud.* 869) commits the same blunder in his allusion to Pelias instead of Æson.) It is to be observed that *recoxerit* occurs nowhere else in Cicero (ἅπαξ λεγόμενον).

1021. ut ex hac aetate repuerascam: "to become a boy again at this time of my life." The verb *repuerascere*, though very rare, is attested for Plautus (*Merc.* 296) and again for Cicero (*De Orat.* 2, 6, 22) where he speaks of the practice of Scipo and Lælius of "frolicking like children" on their vacation — *Laelium semper fere cum Scipione solitum rusticari, eosque incredibiliter repuerascere esse solitos.*

1022. recusem: the vivid Roman imagination conceived such an unreal condition (*largiatur . . . recusem*) as ideal, and hence employed the present subjunctive in both clauses. Cf. G. 596, R. 1. **quasi decurso spatio:** "after I have finished the course, as it were"; *quasi* is used to apologize for the figure which is drawn from the race-course. Cf. l. 176, *spatio.* **ad carceres a calce:** "from the end to the beginning," of the race-course. *Carceres* were the barriers behind which the horses and chariots were kept in waiting till the signal was given for the race to begin, which was done by the dropping of a napkin. Directly the signal was given, the horses rushed forth from the stalls (*carceres*) and started around the course. A chalk line across the course at the nearest turning point (*meta*, "goal") marked the actual start. The finish in front of the judges' stand was marked by a chalk line (*calx*) across the race track. So *calx* came to signify the end, the goal. For a full description see Harper's *Dict. of Class.*

Antiquities, art, *calx*, *carcer*, *meta*, or Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. The comparison of life to a race-course is quite common in Latin as well as in other literatures.

§ 84. **1024. habeat sane:** "suppose it truly has (advantages)"; concessive clause forming an admission for the sake of argument. Cf. *Verr.* 1, 14, 37, *fuerit malus civis; ib.* 5, 1, 4, *sit fur;* also *Tusc. Disp.* 3, 19, 75, and *Sest.* 19, 43. See G. 264; B. 278; H. 559, 3; A. & G. 440; L. 1553.

1026. multi et ii docti: "many and those, too, philosophers." Even Cicero himself was among the number; but it must be borne in mind that Cato, not Cicero, is supposed to be the character here portrayed. Nägelsbach (*Stilistik*, 25, 5) observes that Cicero writes *multi et ii docti* and not *multi docti* simply.

1029. hospitio: "an inn," "a hostelry"; here contrasted with *domo*, and ordinarily affording more comfort than a mere *deversorium*, "a lodging-place," did. In an abstract sense *hospitium* means "hospitality," "entertainment." Cf. *Ad Att.* 2, 16, 4, *te in Arpinati videbimus et hospitio agresti accipiemus.* **Commorandi . . . habitandi:** "to lodge or stay in, not to dwell in"; Gen. of the gerund to express purpose. On the thought see *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 118; Lucr. 3, 938; Hor., *Sat.* 1, 1, 118. **deversorium:** in addition to *deversorium* and *hospitium* which denoted the better class of lodging-places, the Romans also had *caupona* and *taberna* which were a kind of cheap tavern associated with a shop. (Cf. *tabernam, cauponam exercere*, "to keep a tavern," and *popina* and *ganea*, "an eating-house," both in bad repute as patronized by the lower classes of society.)

1031. concilium coetumque: cf. *De Rep.* 6, 13, *concilia coetusque hominum quae civitates vocantur;* also *De Fin.* 2, 4, 11, and *ib.* 2, 24, 77, *quae in omni coetu concilioque.*

1032. conluvione: "vile medley," "the dregs of the people"; primarily the word denotes "a collection of filth." Cf. *Vat.* 9, 23, *in colluvione Drusi*, "the rabble adhering to Drusus."

1034. Catonem meum: his son mentioned in l. 198, *filii mei*, and l. 836, *optimo filio*. Cicero in his correspondence likewise refers frequently to his own son. **vir:** intensifies *nemo*, making it more emphatic.

1036. crematum: cremation of course was the custom among the ancient Romans. It was the influence of Christianity that brought about the practice of burying the corpse, and this practice explains the origin of the catacombs. **quod contra:** "whereas," "on the contrary"; lit. "instead of which." The regimen of *quod* here is determined by *contra*. If *contra* is a preposition, as it may be (cf. Delbrück, *Vergleichende Syntax*, I, p. 392), then there is anastrophe and *quod* is governed by *contra* which follows. But if, on the other

haud, *contra* here has its primary adverbial force, *quod* must be taken as an Acc. of specification. The former interpretation is perhaps more satisfactory. Of course editors are divided as to the interpretation, as they are likewise divided as to the *cras* in *Lael.* § 90, *quod contra oportebat delicto dolere, correctione gaudere.* See Crit. App. **meum:** *sc. corpus cremari*, i. e., my body should have been burned by him.

1038. **quo:** = *ad quae*. Cf. l. 1018, *Quo quidem.*

1039. **Quem . . . meum casum:** "this misfortune of mine," viz. the death of his son. **non quo . . . ferrem:** "not that I bore it calmly"; subjunctive of rejected reason. The real reason in a case like the present usually follows introduced by *sed quia (quod)*. Here, however, the principal clause assigns the real reason (*sed . . . me ipse consolabar*). See G. 541, N. 2; B. 286, *b*; A. & G. 540, 2, N. 3; H. 588, II, 2; L. 1855.

1041. **digressum et discessum:** another pair of synonyms. Cf. l. 400, *officia et munera*. Note the alliteration and the assonance.

§ 85. 1042. **His mihi rebus:** "It is by means of these things that old age is not burdensome to me"; very emphatic as the position indicates. **id:** refers to the circumstance that old age was not a burden to Cato.

1043. **dixisti:** see l. 39.

1044. **in hoc:** i. e., his belief in the immortality of the soul. **qui . . . credam:** expresses cause, hence subjunctive.

1045. **mihi:** Dat. of reference with *extorqueri*.

1046. **quo delector:** on the general trend of the thought, see *Tusc. Disp.* 1. 39. *Errare mehercule malo cum Platone . . . quam cum istis vera sentire.*

1047. **quidam minuti:** this disparaging ("insignificant") allusion is to the Epicureans, who rejected the doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Cf. *Acad.* 2, 75, *minuti philosophi*; also *De Div.* 1, 62. The literal meaning of *minutus* is "small," for which see Juv. 14, 291, *facies minutae*, "miniature portraits." **nihil sentiam:** "I shall know nothing," being dead and unconscious, with the implication of utter annihilation.

1050. **extingui:** cf. l. 470, *sed diuturnitate extinguitur.*

1052. **peractio tamquam fabulae:** "the last act of the play, as it were"; *tamquam* apologizes for the figure from the stage applied to human life. *Peractio* is said not to occur elsewhere in classical Latin. Cf. l. 798, *ii mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse*; also l. 855, *Neque enim histrioni . . . peragenda fabula est.*

1054. **satietate:** a word of frequent occurrence in Cicero. Cf. l. 923, *studiorum omnium satietas vitae fecit satietatem*; also *Lael.* § 67, *non debent esse amicitiarum sicut aliarum rerum satietas.*

1055. Haec habui . . . quae dicerem: "This is what I had to say"; *quae dicerem* is Subjunctive of purpose. The closing words of the *Laelius* (§ 104) are identical. Cf. *Ad Att.* 1, 6, *haec habebam fere quae te scire vellem.* Cicero elsewhere (*Nat. Deor.* 3, 93; *Balb.* 34) varies the expression, writing *habeo dicere* simply.

1056. perveniatis: optative subjunct. Cf. l. 80, *quo pervenisti.* **re experti:** "having experienced in fact"; i. e. by actual practice.

CRITICAL APPENDIX

(For the designations of the Mss., the editions, etc., see Manuscripts of the Cato Maior, Introduction, pp. 21-24.)

§ 1. **ego:** the reading of all the best Mss. except P, which reads *te*. Most of the recent editors adopt *ego*, but Sommerbrodt and Bennett follow the reading of P.

adiuero: the reading of the best Mss. LPH is *adiuvero*, but this reading has been uniformly rejected on the supposition that no such form exists. Moore restores it to the text, however, on the ground that here and also for Plautus, *Rud.* 305, Terence, *Phor.* 537, Catullus, 66, 18, the optative sigmatic aorist forms are attested. Most editors adopt *adiuero*, the reading of A, which had been conjectured by Lambinus even before de Vries's collation of A, and generally adopted.

§ 2. **etiam:** L, followed by most of the recent editors except Bennett, who omits, after Halm, on the ground that the locution *et . . . et etiam* is extremely rare in Cicero.

etsi te . . . uteretur: Otto thinks these words did not stand in the original draft, but were added in the subsequent revision (A. Otto, *Die Interpolationen in Ciceros Cato Maior*, etc., p. 95).

digne satis laudari: LHVEV^{i}, so Mueller and most subsequent editors. But BRSMa read *satis laudari digne*, and P has *laudari satis digne*, followed by Halm and Bennett.

§ 3. **Ceus:** the Mss. are at variance as to the name. Mueller and some others spell Cius, which is the later spelling of the Empire, not that of the Republic (Ceus). Giesecke, Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* 145, 206, tries to establish that Aristo the Stoic of Chios and not the Peripatetic of Ceos (Keos) is meant. Cf. Schanz, *Röm. Lit.*, p. 325.

quo maiorem . . . oratio: Meissner, after Polle's suggestion (Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.* 131, 807), without sufficient reason, would take this as an interpolation. But Otto (*Die Interpolationen*, etc., p. 95) looks upon it rather as an evidence of a revision by Cicero himself.

id tribuito: supported by LP^{a}v and adopted by Sommerbrodt, Anz, Kornitzer and Moore. The Mss. are much at variance. Mueller follows BRSI and Halm, reading *attribuito*, as do many recent editors.

§ 4. **potest malum:** PBRS, so Halm and many subsequent editors, on the ground that this order is more in keeping with Cicero's usage.

But Mueller and some others follow the reading of LHAVv, which is *malum potest*, disregarding Ciceronian usage.

adeptam: PHVBRSIv, so Halm, Sommerbrodt, Bennett and Moore, while Mueller reads *adepti* after LE, followed by most editors. The reading *adeptam* is preferable to *adepti* not only as being more forceful, but also as being more likely to have been changed by a copyist unfamiliar with Cicero's usage of the perfect participle of a deponent in a passive sense.

consolatio: after Mueller, on the authority of LPBRS; some editors read *consolatione* supported by EIH.

§ 5. **discriptae:** after Mueller, supported by EA, though most manuscripts read *descriptae*.

Quid est enim: most editors interpret this passage thus: "For what is waging war with the Gods after the example of the Giants, if resistance to nature is not?" See Moore's discussion of this point, *Amer. Jour. Phil.* 23, 440–443.

§ 8. **Atheniensis:** the reading of LAE, adopted by Mueller. Many editors following the reading of the majority of the manuscripts add *esses* after *Atheniensis*. But as Reid remarks, the quick succession of *esses, fuisses* is contrary to Ciceronian usage.

§ 10. **eum qui Tarentum recepit:** Baiter and Meissner take this as an interpolation, but it is generally accepted as genuine. See Otto, *art. cit.*, p. 103.

Quaestor deinde, etc.: Anz and Schiche omit *deinde* and change the order in consequence of the confusion in the manuscripts, which interpolate *aedilis* or *praetor*, or both. But there seems to be no sufficient reason to depart from Mueller's text, and so most of the recent editors have followed it.

Noenum: Lachmann's conjecture (cf. Lucr. 3, 199) for *non enim* of the manuscripts. But this etymology of *non* (from *noenum*) has not met with general favor. F. W. Thomas, *Class. Rev.* 5, 378, thinks *non* cannot be a corruption of *noenum* because *noenum* is known to have been in use in the time of Ennius and even as late as Varro and *nolo* occurs as far back as the XII Tables. Thomas would derive *non* from *nō* + *nĕ* (asseverative), cf. Stolz, *Hist. Gram.*, 1, 131. In his edition of Ennius Vahlen retains *non enim*, after the Mss.

plusque: the Mss. all read *postque*, adopted by Mueller; likewise *De Off.* 1, 84, reads *postque* as does also Vahlen in his edition of Ennius, (12, 370) as well as Lucian Mueller. Bernays conjectured *plusque*, which some editors, notably Bennett and Moore, adopt. There seems no sufficient reason to reject the overwhelming authority of the Mss. and read *plusque*.

§ 11. **fuerat in arce:** the Mss. are at variance. Mueller reads *fugerat in arcem*, supported by v. Most of the recent editors read *fuerat*

in arce, which is probably the correct reading, in view of the long period of three years during which Macatus defended the city. On Cicero's error here in confusing Salinator with Macatus, see Katharine Allen, *Amer. Jour. Phil.* 19, 437.

§ 12. **mortem filii:** P here reads *mortem M. filii* and AViv *mortem marci filii*, implying that the son's name was Marcus, whereas his name was really Quintus.

bella: bracketed by Sommerbrodt, Moore, Otto (*art. cit.*, p. 103) and others as spurious and explained as a gloss on *domestica* and *externa* which crept into the text. But because Cicero employed the general terms *domestica* and *externa* in some passages, it does not follow that he did not write *bella* here. In view of the unanimity of the Mss. it seems best to retain *bella*.

tum cupide fruebar: since the Mss. and editors are so greatly at variance here, it seems best to follow Mueller's order, especially since no real advantage is secured by altering the position of *tum*.

§ 13. **Quorsus:** the Mss. are overwhelmingly in favor of *quorsus*, Vi reads *quorsum*, adopted by Mueller. Since the manuscript reading makes good sense, there is no sufficient reason to reject *quorsus* and adopt *quorsum*.

quarto et nonagesimo: the reading of LE; but most Mss. omit *et*. Merguet's *Lexicon zu Cicero* shows that *et* in similar expressions is never omitted in Cicero's orations and only once in his philosophical writings (*De Off.* 2, 29). Therefore *et* ought to be retained here notwithstanding the rule that *et* is usually omitted in compounds when the smaller numeral precedes.

§ 14. **Olympia:** so Vv, followed by Mueller and most subsequent editors. BIRSH read *Olimpia*. Reid, Bennett and Moore adopt *Olumpia*, a close imitation of the Greek. But L. Mueller (*Ennius*, Bk. 17) and Vahlen (*Ennius*, Bk. 12, 374) read *Olympia*.

undevicesimo: Mss. generally read *annum enim undevicesimum*; L reads *undevicensimum*, which Mueller adopts. But most of the recent editors emend into *anno enim undevicesimo*.

suasissem: the reading of the Mss. except P and H (*suasisset*). Forchammer conjectured *suasi* from this variant reading *suasisset* (*suasi. Sed*), which presupposed the change of final *d* (in *sed*) into *t* (*set*), — common enough in Mss. Mueller adopts Forchammer's conjecture, writing *suasi. Sed* —. But the manuscript reading makes good sense and Hale (*Cum-Constructions*, p. 189) defends *suasisset* here. It would seem then that the manuscript reading should be followed, and many recent editors accordingly read *suasissem*.

§ 15. **omnibus fere:** so PVE, adopted by most editors; but most of the Mss. read *fere omnibus*, followed by Mueller and others. The

fact that *fere* generally, not always, follows the word it modifies (cf. Krebs, *Antibarbarus*, 6th ed., I, p. 533) may be cited in defense of the reading *omnibus fere*. See Merguet's *Lexikon zu Cicero, art., fere.*

Quibus: so the Mss. and the editors. Lütjohan (*Rhein. Mus.* 37, 500) would emend to read *Quibus omnibus ?*, or would substitute *omnibus* for *quibus*.

§ 16. **dementis:** the Mss. and the editors are divided between *dementes* and *dementis*. Mueller has *dementes*. L. Mueller (*Ennius*, Bk. 6, 205) and Vahlen (*Ennius*, Bk. 6, 202) both read *dementes*.

viai: restored by Lambinus and adopted by all recent editors.

§ 17. **non facit ea:** Mueller reads *faciat . . . faciat* following the Mss., most of which join these words to the preceding sentence and read *in puppi non faciat ea . . . faciat*. But V reads *non facit* in the first place and S reads *facit* in the second, which Halm adopted thus retaining *facit* in both places. Sommerbrodt, Weiszenfels, Deiter, Anz, Drenckhahn, Ley, Schiche and Bennett, among recent editors, read *facit . . . facit*. Moore conjectures *ne* for *non*, assuming *ne faciat* to be a concessive clause.

aut celeritate: Sommerbrodt, without sufficient reason (cf. A. Otto, *art. cit.*, p. 102), assumes these words to be spurious, bracketing them and following Halm, with good manuscript authority (PHBRSMa), writes *velocitatibus* before.

§ 18. **Karthagini male:** the reading of HERS *et al.* LPAVIB insert *cui*, which reading Mueller accepts, assuming a lacuna after *Karthagini*. No doubt the text is corrupt, but the restoration makes sense.

excisam: Reid after Halm rejects *excisam* (from *excido*, "to raze") on the ground that *exscindo* and not *excido* is the proper word for "razing" a city, and hence writes *exscisam*. But, as Bennett remarks, there is abundant testimony to show that *excido* as well as *exscindo* is frequently used in this sense. Sommerbrodt following Lambinus writes *excissam*.

§ 19. **sextus:** a conjecture of Manutius (UI=III), adopted by Baiter, Lahmeyer, Meissner, Schiche, Kornitzer, Anz, Moore, Deiter and others. The Mss. read *tertius*, followed by Halm, Mueller, Reid and Bennett. Since it is uncertain when Scipio Africanus died, the matter cannot be definitely settled whether *sextus* or *tertius* is the proper word here. But *sextus* seems more in harmony with the facts. Sommerbrodt substitutes *quintus*.

§ 20. **percontantur in Naevi poetae Ludo:** this passage has proved a *crux* to the editors. Mueller reads *percontantur ut est in Naevi poetae Ludo*, which is far from satisfactory. Various emendations have been suggested, but none has met with general approval. The

obvious corruption lies in *percontantur ut est* and in *Ludo*. For the manuscript reading *percontantur* Mommsen conjectured *percontantibus*, and Deiter (*Philologus* 46, 175) *percontanti*, both omitting *ut est*. Reid, Bennett and Egbert omit *ut est* simply. Moore (*Amer. Jour. Phil.* 23, 436) ingeniously conjectures that *ut est* of the Mss. is a corruption of *Veientes*, but his clever conjecture meets with certain palæographical objections. For *Ludo* Ribbeck conjectured *Lupo*, connecting the quotation with a fragment of Nævius preserved in Festus (Mueller's ed., p. 270). Bennett adopts this emendation. But Ribbeck, in his *Tragicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*, 3rd ed., I, p. 321, does not now identify the play *Lupus* with the *Romulus* of Nævius, but regards them as separate and distinct plays. Perhaps we should not go far wrong to read here *Lupo*, after Ribbeck, for *Ludo* (supported by the best Mss., though some read *libro*). Moore has called attention to the suspicious use of *poetae* in combination with the name Nævius as not in keeping with Cicero's practice. Havet (*Acad. des Inscrip. et belles Lettres*, yr. 1900, p. 148) would read these verses: *Cedo qui vos rem publicam tantam amistis tam cito? Proventabant oratores novi, stulti, adulescentuli.*

§ 22. **Quid iuris consulti?**: Mueller punctuates thus: *Quid? juris consulti, quid?*

§ 23. **num Hesiodum**: Mueller omits *num* which is found in all the Mss. and retained by most of the editors. I follow the majority of editors and retain it.

in suis studiis: Meissner brackets these words. See A. Otto, *art. cit.*, p. 103.

§ 24. **saeculo**: the reading of all the Mss., though where the line is quoted in *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 31, the Mss. read *saecla*.

prosient: the manuscript evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of *prosint*, which Mueller and most editors follow. Yet some editors adopt the earlier form *prosient*. Ribbeck (*Trag. Rom. Frag.*, 3rd ed., II, p. 80) reads *prosint* and makes the verse a senarius. G. Hermann and Heine make it cretic. It is usually treated as bacchiac.

§ 25. **eumpse esse**: a conjecture of Fleckeisen, which has been generally adopted for the variant readings of the Mss.

§ 26. **discebant . . . antiqui**: bracketed by Sommerbrodt and Schiche and some others, but defended by A. Otto, *art. cit.*, p. 102.

§ 27. **Nec**: so most Mss. and editors. VBEIS read *ne*, which a few editors adopt.

§ 28. **Omnino**: Knapp (*Class. Rev.* 14, 214) rejects the favorite interpretation of this passage and takes *omnino* as looking backward as a correction and not forward to *sed tamen*. See Moore, *Amer. Jour. Phil.* 23, 436–437.

splendescit: this reading, though supported by the Mss., is re-

garded by some editors as very questionable, on the ground of not being suited to the context. Because of objection to *splendescit* Hennings (Fleckeisen's *Jahr.* 147, 781) conjectured *s(u)plendescit*, i. e., **sublentescit* (cf. Barendt, *Class. Rev.* 13, 402; 14, 356). See A. Kornitzer's discussion in *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift* 25, p. 510.

persaepe ipsa: so most of the Mss. and editors. Mueller follows L reading *per se ipsa*. The former seems the more forceful and has better manuscript support.

compta: LHA *et al.* followed by Mueller. But the Mss. vary, and so do the editors. Of recent editors Reid, Egbert, Kornitzer, Drenckhahn and Weiszenfels have *composita ;* Sommerbrodt, Meissner, Ley, Deiter, Schiche, Bennett have *compta ;* Anz has *sedata*. Moore reads *cocta* and defends it by a corrupt variant reading in Nonius, who quotes this passage.

§ 29. **an ne illas:** so Mueller, adopting a conjecture of Halm for the corrupt *annales* of most of the Mss. Some editors adopt another conjecture of Halm, reading *an ne eas*, while some adopt *an ne tales*, a conjecture of Schenkl for *an tales*, the reading of S.

relinquimus: it seems better to follow the consensus of a majority of the Mss. in favor of *relinquimus* than to adopt with Mueller *relinquemus*, the reading of L, especially since no advantage is gained thereby.

ipsa ista: so LPAvMa, adopted by Mueller; HVBRES read *ista ipsa*, which is the usual order in Cicero. Cicero hardly bound himself by a fixed rule, as Moore observes, and the consensus of the two best Mss. ought to determine the matter.

§ 33. **Utrum igitur:** a conjecture of Manutius, confirmed on the discovery of H. PVvS read *virum igitur ;* BER read *virum utrum igitur*. Editors vary.

§ 34. **Ne sint:** so R, followed by Halm, Baiter, Bennett and Moore. PH have *ne desint*, LBIS *non sunt*, adopted by Mueller and others. *Ne sint* seems best suited to the context.

§ 35. **sint:** so LPHVER *et al.*, adopted by Mueller. BIS have *sunt*, followed by Halm and some of the recent editors. But *sint* has the support of the best Mss. and can be defended and should then be adopted.

morbum: so PHVvMa, followed by many editors including Bennett and Moore. L has *morborum vim*, adopted by Mueller, Sommerbrodt, Schiche, Anz and others.

§ 36. **se exercendo:** so LAVvER, followed by Sommerbrodt, Schiche, Moore. Mueller and others omit *se*, contrary to the Mss. PHBSI read *exercitando*.

comicos: so all the editors for *comicus* of the Mss.

§ 38. **emancipata:** some few editors prefer the archaic *mancipata*

which reposes on good manuscript authority, though Nonius's citation (105, 15 M) supports *emancipata*.

agere non possem: there is some confusion here in the Mss., though the majority favor *agere non possem*, adopted by Mueller. LA read *age* (*rem*) *in ras.*, omitting the rest of the sentence, and so some editors make the sentence close with *agerem*.

§ 41. **longior:** so LPVvHAI, followed by most editors. Mueller follows BRES reading *longinquior*. It is true that *longior* here in the sense demanded by the context is contrary to Ciceronian usage, but it has the consensus of all the best Mss. Krebs (*Antibarbarus der Lateinische Sprache*, 6th ed., II, p. 31) cites this passage as an example of *longus* in Cicero with other than a temporal sense.

§ 44. **quod videlicet . . . pisces:** regarded by some editors as an interpolation, but defended by A. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

§ 46. **et refrigeratio . . . hibernus:** omitted by Kornitzer and bracketed by Brieger, Anz and Sommerbrodt, but defended by A. Otto (*op. cit.*, 96) as genuine and not a repetition of § 57, end.

§ 47. **desideratio:** the reading of all the Mss. except L, which has *desideratur*. It is true, *desideratio* is extremely rare, occurring only in Vitruvius elsewhere. But *desideratio* harmonizes better with *titillatio* than *desideratur* and the overwhelming manuscript evidence in its favor justifies its retention by Mueller and other editors. Cf. Kornitzer, in *Berliner Wochenschrift* 25, 511.

nihil autem . . . desideres: Polle (Fleckeisen's *Jahrbuecher* 131, p. 807), without sufficient reason, doubts the genuineness of this passage, but it is defended by A. Otto (*op. cit.*, 99).

§ 48. **tamen:** some of the Mss. including LP omit *tamen*; it is retained by Mueller on the authority of HVRE, and it occurs in Nonius (417, 23 M).

§ 49. **Vivere videbamus:** a conjecture of Iwan Mueller (*Bursian's Jahresb.* 26, 2, p. 126) for *mori videbamus* of the Mss. Moore emends into *vivere modo vid.*, Bennett *exerceri vid.* Mueller adopts the reading of the Mss. which does not comport with the context, but obelizes it, indicating his belief that the passage is corrupt. Various other emendations have been suggested, but none has met with general favor.

§ 50. **Vidi . . . Livium:** Hendrickson (*Amer. Jour. Phil.* 19, 291 and 437) maintains that these words are not a mere didactic digression, but an intentional emphasizing of the age of Livius in order to overthrow a popular error which Accius gave currency to and which Cicero himself formally repudiated in his *Brutus* (§ 72).

§ 51. **imperium:** for this Manutius suggested *impendium*, but the conjecture did not commend itself to editors. See Lunak's advocacy of the same (*Philologus* 52, 347).

nec umquam: so all the Mss. except L, which has *ne cuiquam;* Mommsen emended this into *nec cuiquam*, but few have adopted it.

dein: the reading of all the Mss. except P, which has *deinde*, adopted by Mueller and most editors. Moore has *dein* which seems preferable, both in view of its overwhelming manuscript support and because Cicero frequently used this abbreviated form before words beginning with a consonant (and *deinde* regularly before vowels). Cf. Neue, *Formenlehre d. Latein. Sprache*, 3rd ed., II, p. 672; Lindsay, p. 122; and Stolz, *Hist. Gram. d. Latein. Sprache*, I, p. 307.

ex quibus: the reading of LPV, followed by Mueller; other Mss. have *e quibus*. But Cicero generally uses *ex* before consonants. Cf. Neue, *op. cit.*, II, p. 868.

§ 52. **requietem:** the reading of most Mss. except LAV, which have *requiem*, followed by Mueller. Editors are divided. But Cicero regularly wrote *requietem* (cf. *De Leg.* 2, 2; 2, 29; *De Fin.* 5, 54) and Priscian who cites this passage (242 K) also favors *requietem* here, not to mention the preponderance of the manuscript support.

viviradices: generally adopted by the editors on the authority of Cato, *De Re Rus.* 33, 3, and Varro, *De Re Rus.* 1, 35, 1, for *vites radices* the reading of the Mss.

§ 53. **dein:** the reading of all the Mss. except H (*de inde*) and one or two inferior Mss. Yet Mueller, after Halm, reads *deinde*, strangely enough.

§ 54. **dixi,** etc.: Lütjohann (*Rhein. Mus.* 37, 502) would strike out these words as an interpolation, but A. Otto defends them (*op. cit.*, p. 100).

§ 55. **haec:** reading of LAP^a, adopted by Mueller and most of the recent editors; PHV and some other Mss. read *ea*, adopted by Bennett and Schiche.

triumphavisset: the reading of LPAVvS, followed by Meissner and Moore; HBEIR have *triumphasset*, followed by Mueller and others. The best Mss. support *triumpharisset*.

a mea: the Mss. all read *a me*, followed by Mueller and others. Maehly conjectured *mea* which Mueller regarded as probable, but not necessary, and this reading is followed by Bennett, Meissner, Anz, Kornitzer and Deiter. Since *mea admirari* might readily be corrupted into *me admirari* and since there seems to be little or no warrant in Ciceronian usage for the use of the personal pronoun in the sense the passage demands, it seems best to adopt Maehly's emendation.

§ 56. **quam:** the reading of v and one of the inferior Paris Mss. collated by Dahl. The other Mss. read *qua*, followed by Schiche, Kornitzer, Moore. Mueller writes *de qua*, the conjecture of Opitz

(Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.*, yr. 1873, p. 610), assuming that *de* was dropped in copying through the proximity of the preceding *delectatione*. But it is more probable that a stroke over the *a* in *qua* (*quâ*) was lost in the best Mss. and the evidence of Piv tends to confirm this. Halm, Sommerbrodt, Reid and Bennett have *quam*, which seems preferable to *qua* or to *de qua*.

§ 58. **Sibi habeant igitur:** so LVvP^{a}BRISH, followed by Mueller and others; PE read *habeant igitur sibi*, followed by Moore. Sommerbrodt brackets this entire section 58, regarding it as an interpolation (Fleckeisen's *Jahrbuecher* 123, 139). Lütjohann (*Rhein. Mus.* 37, 499) thinks the passage genuine, but that it does not belong just at this point, having been inserted here only tentatively at first. Cf. A. Otto (*op. cit.*, p. 96), who defends it as genuine.

utrum: so most Mss. and editors; PHVI read *unum*. Some editors (Reid, Bennett, Egbert) stumble at the use of *utrum* here and emend into *ut* which has no manuscript support; others emend into *utcumque*. But these emendations are unnecessary.

§ 59. **directos:** the reading of all the Mss. and of most of the editors. Mueller, on the authority of Nonius (401, 1 M), writes *derectos*, which seems without warrant in view of the manuscript evidence, especially since *directos*, "arranged," makes sense.

§ 61. **Hunc unum:** conjecture of Madvig, adopted by Mueller and most editors, for *unicum* of the Mss.

est totum carmen: so PP^{a}EHVv, followed by Lahmeyer, Reid, Bennett, Anz, Moore. BRS read *totum est carmen*, and LA *est itiotum carmen*, which Mommsen emended into *est id totum carmen*, adopted by Sommerbrodt and Deiter. Other Mss. read *est carmen*, followed by Mueller and probably a majority of recent editors. But the manuscript evidence clearly seems to justify the retention of *totum* in the text.

iam ante: the reading of LPHVvRES and defended by Vahlen (*Zeitschrift f. d. oesterr. Gymn.* 24, 246) and Plasberg (*Rhein. Mus.* 53, 85). AI read *ut jam ante*, followed by Mueller and most recent editors. Moore writes *jam ante*, which doubtless has a preponderance of manuscript support and makes good sense.

§ 65. **omnis natura:** so LAVP^{a}BRSI, followed by Mueller and most editors. PHE read *aetas naturae*. Bezzenberger conjectured *aetas matura*, adopted by Schiche; Moore conjectured *aetas naturave*, approved by Kornitzer (*Berliner Wochenschrift* 25, 511) and Sommerbrodt conjectured *hominis natura*. Mueller's reading is satisfactory.

§ 67. **est tam:** the reading of REv and Nonius (294, 13 M), adopted by editors generally for *etiam* of the best Mss. which does not suit the passage.

est istud: conjecture of Wesenberg, adopted by the editors for *est istius* of the best Mss. (LPHVvABISMa).

§ 68. **cum:** the reading of all the Mss. followed by many editors, Schiche, Deiter, Anz, Moore. Lambinus conjectured *quod*, followed by Mueller, Ley and Drenckhahn. Sommerbrodt conjectured *quoniam*, adopted by Reid, Bennett, Meissner and Weiszenfels. But the manuscript reading *cum* can be explained as an original explicative *cum*-clause parallel with a *quod*-clause (cf. G. 582; L. 1874). (Cf. *De Orat.* 2, 154, *quo etiam maior habendus est cum illam sapientiam . . . cognovit;* also Ter., *Ph.* 967, *Quom e medio excessit.*) Hale (*Cum Construc.*, p. 243) defends *cum* here.

§ 69. **supremum:** the reading of all the Mss. except L, which reads *summum* followed by Mueller, Anz, Ley, Meissner, Weiszenfels. Sommerbrodt, Kornitzer, Schiche, Moore, Deiter read *supremum*, which seems justified by the preponderance of the manuscript evidence.

§ 70. **Neque . . . veniendum:** the genuineness of this passage has been questioned, but it is defended by A. Otto (*op. cit.*, p. 97).

sapienti: so BRSV and most editors; LPHAEv read *sapientibus*, followed by Sommerbrodt, Meissner, Reid, Schiche. The sing. is preferable for reasons of balance (*histrioni*) and euphony, especially in view of the possible corruption into the plur. on account of the following *usque*.

§ 71. **vix evelluntur:** so LPHA, followed by Mueller and all recent editors except Bennett and Meissner, who write *vi evelluntur*, on the authority of BIRSv.

§ 72. **possis:** the reading of most Mss. and most editors. L has *posset* and P has *possit*, followed by Mueller, Reid, Kornitzer. The subjunctive here cannot be defended except in the indefinite sing. (ideal second person).

mortemque contemnere: bracketed by Mueller, Sommerbrodt, Ley as an interpolation or as indicating a lacuna (cf. Luetjohann, *Rhein. Mus.* 37, 504; A. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 101). If these words indicate a lacuna, the sense is not impaired, and it may be assumed that the words are genuine, and should be restored to the text.

Ut navem . . . dissolvit: regarded by some as spurious; A. Otto (*op. cit.*, p. 98) brackets *sic* to the end. Editors retain in the text, but Anz brackets *sic* to end.

§ 73. **elogium est:** the reading of most of the Mss., followed by many of the editors. LP omit *est*. Mueller, after Halm and Baiter, writes *est elogium*, as do Moore and others.

dacrumis: conjecture of Bergk, adopted by most of the recent editors, for *lacrumis* of the Mss., followed by Mueller. The alliteration demands *dacrumis*.

§ 75. **recorder:** the reading of most Mss., followed by Mueller and most editors. Sommerbrodt and Reid have *recordor*, on the authority of SE. The subjunctive seems demanded.

saepe profectas: the reading of QRMa, followed by Mueller and editors generally. LA read *se projectas;* PVvP^{a}HI read *esse profectas.*

§ 76. This section is thought by some to have been transposed with § 73. Cf. A. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 95; also Luetjohann, *Rhein. Mus.* 37, p. 501, who would rearrange.

studiorum: the reading of the best Mss., followed by Mueller and most editors. Halm, Baiter, Lahmeyer, Reid have *rerum*, on the authority of ERMa.

§ 77. **Equidem non:** the reading of a majority of the Mss. (BIRSEH), followed by Sommerbrodt, Anz, Bennett, Deiter. LP have *non enim*, followed by Mueller and most editors. The variation in the Mss. may be explained by assuming *non equidem* to be the true reading, which in some cases was corrupted into *enim* and subsequently transposed, giving *non enim* of some codices. Moore has *equidem — non enim.*

tuum, Scipio, tuumque, Laeli: the suggestion of Baiter, adopted by Schiche, Meissner, Kornitzer, Bennett, Moore and others. VvBSMa have *P. Scipio tuque C. Laeli*, followed by Mueller, Ley, Novak, Deiter and others. LP have *tu, Scipio, tuque, Laeli.* As Mueller observes, the best Mss. often omit *praenomina* which here seem out of place.

§ 78. It is to be noted that P breaks off abruptly with the words *quin ex* in this section, and from this point on we can only infer its readings from H.

tantae scientiae: bracketed by Baiter, but defended by A. Otto (*op. cit.*, p. 103).

esset natura: so LBISMa, followed by Mueller, Sommerbrodt, Anz, Ley, Deiter and others; HAVPa have *natura esset*, followed by Meissner, Novak and others.

Haec Platonis fere: the reading of all the editors except Moore. Pb reads *Platonis fere sunt;* BISVAd read *Plato vester;* Ma reads *Plato dicit vester*, and others read *Platonis fere.* A. Otto, *op. cit.*, p. 103–104, thinks these words a mere gloss that crept into the text, and Moore rejects them as an interpolation, omitting them from his text. Moore calls attention to the fact that no passage in Plato has been found upon which Cicero could base his argument for the immortality of the soul from the unlimited faculties of the mind. It is quite plausible that a marginal note calling attention to Cicero's indebtedness to Plato by a copyist may have been incorporated by a later hand into the text. But the evidence is not conclusive, and

at most the words should be bracketed only, not stricken from the text.

§ 79. **autem:** regarded by A. Otto (see above) as an interpolation by the same hand as *Haec Platonis fere*.

§ 80. **discessit:** the reading of LHAV, adopted by Anz, Reid, Moore. BS read *discesserit* and the remaining Mss. read *discedit*, followed by Mueller and most editors. *Discessit* is the natural opposite of *cum adest* and has the support of the best Mss.

§ 81. **corporum:** the reading of LHVBISMa, followed by Schiche, Anz, Kornitzer, Moore, Deiter. The other Mss. read *corporis*, adopted by Mueller and many recent editors. Either reading suits the sense, but *corporum* has the stronger manuscript support.

§ 82. **ad se ipsos pertinere:** conjecture of Opitz (Fleckeisen's *Jahrb.*, yr. 1873, p. 611) adopted by Mueller and most of the recent editors. Most Mss. (LHVvP^{a}BISMa) read *ad se posse pertinere;* and ER read *ad se pertinere*, followed by Halm, Baiter and Schiche.

melius multo: the reading of all the Mss. except E, which transposes the words. Mueller and all subsequent editors have *melius multo* except Bennett who follows E. Cicero regularly writes *multo melius*, but not invariably, as Moore points out, and the evidence of the Mss. here is too strong to be set aside.

labore et contentione: the reading of L(according to Dahl) VvAIAd, followed by Sommerbrodt, Moore, Meissner-Landgraf. P^{a}Ma read *aut labore et contentione*, and R *labore aut contentione*, followed by Mueller who attributes this reading to LE as well as R. In view of Mueller's error the reading *labore et contentione*, since it makes good sense and has the best manuscript support, should be followed. Editors are divided.

immortalitatem et gloriam: the reading of LHAVP^{a}, followed by Mueller and all of the recent editors except Reid. BSI have *inmortalitatis gloriam*, followed by Halm, Baiter, Reid. Some of the inferior Mss. offer variant readings.

§ 83. **cuius:** for this reading of LARv followed by the editors in general, the inferior Mss. have *cui* followed by Halm and Baiter.

solos: the reading of LAVvP^{a}BEIS, followed by Mueller and most of the recent editors. Sommerbrodt, Meissner and Reid have *solum* on the authority of PbMa and Nonius (270, 40 M).

§ 84. **habet enim vita:** the reading of LAVvSI, followed by Mueller and most editors. Sommerbrodt writes *enim vita habet* on inferior manuscript authority.

habeat: so the editors for *habet* of the Mss

e: so the editors and inferior Mss. LHAEvP^{a} omit.

devorsorium: so L, followed by Mueller and most editors (Moore writes the later form *deversorium*). Other Mss. have *diversorium*.

in: so most editors, on the authority of the inferior Mss. and Nonius (524, 31 M). Most Mss. read *ad* and L omits.

§ 85. Quodsi non . . . satietate: Sommerbrodt and Anz bracket as an interpolation.

defatigationem: so APbNB *et al.*, followed by Bennett, Moore. RISVMa have *defetigationem*, followed by Sommerbrodt, Meissner-Landgraf, Reid. HE and some inferior Mss. read *defectionem*, followed by Mueller and most of the recent editors. The antithesis (*saturitas*) and the sense seem to demand *defatigationem* rather than *defectionem*.

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